XI T13

GAZETTEER

392A

XL 113

OF THE

PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

1883-4

Compiled and Published under the authority of the
PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

915.41
P

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED BY THE CALCUTTA CENTRAL PRESS COMPANY, LIMITED,
5, COUNCIL HOUSE STREET.

5103

PREFACE.

THE period fixed by the Punjab Government for the compilation of the *Gazetteer* of the Province being limited to twelve months, the Editor has not been able to prepare any original matter for the present work; and his duties have been confined to throwing the already existing material into shape, supplementing it as far as possible by contributions obtained from district officers, passing the draft through the press, circulating it for revision, altering it in accordance with the corrections and suggestions of revising officers, and printing and issuing the final edition.

The material available in print for the *Gazetteer* of this district consisted of the Settlement Reports, and a draft *Gazetteer* compiled between 1870 and 1874 by Mr. F. Cunningham, Barrister-at-Law. Notes on certain points have been supplied by district officers; while the report on the Census of 1881 has been utilised. Of the present volume, Section A of Chap. V (General Administration), and the whole of Chap. VI (Towns), have been for the most part supplied by the Deputy Commissioner; Section A of Chap. III (Statistics of Population) has been taken from the Census Report; while here and there passages have been extracted from Mr. Cunningham's compilation already referred to. But, with these exceptions, the great mass of the text has been taken almost, if not quite verbally, from the Settlement Reports of the district by Major James and Captain Hastings.

The draft edition of this *Gazetteer* has been revised by Colonels Waterfield, Hastings, and Ommaney and Mr. Beckett, and by the Irrigation Department so far as regards the canals of the district. The Deputy Commissioner is responsible for the spelling of vernacular names, which has been fixed throughout by him in accordance with the prescribed system of transliteration.

THE EDITOR.

PESHAWAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

SECTION A.—DESCRIPTIVE.

General description.

The Pesháwar district is the central one of the three districts of the Pesháwar division, and lies between north latitude 33° 43′ and 34° 31′; and east longitude 71° 25′ and 72° 47′. It occupies the extreme north-western corner of the Indian Empire, and extends from the Indus to the Khaibar mountains. It is bounded on the north and north-east by hills which separate it from the valleys of Swát and Bunér; to the north-west are the rugged looking mountains occupied by the Utmánkhels and Momands; on the west stand the Khaibar mountains overlooked by the Tártarra peak; to the south the boundary is the continuation of a spur which branches from the Sufaid Kóh and runs to the Indus—the lower portion of this branch separates the districts of Pesháwar and Kohát—to the south-east, the only portion not bounded by hills, is the river Indus, which divides it from the Chach plain in the Ráwalpindi and Hazára districts. Excepting the Indus and Kohát borders, it is surrounded on all sides by independent territory occupied by Patháns. In shape the valley represents a fan—its rivers and ravines form the joints, and Khairábád the handle. The left side of the fan is irrigated land, but the right or high land depends altogether upon rain and is known as the *mairá*. It is, except on the south-east side where flows the Indus, encircled by mountains. Its greatest length from Kyara on the east to Spersang on the west is 86 miles. The greatest breadth from its northernmost point at Karkai in Yusafzai to Saddokhel in the Khattak hills on its southern border is 46 miles. It is divided into six *tahsíls*, of which three lie to the east and three to the west of the line of the Swát and Kábul rivers. Of the former, Utmán Bulaq lies to the east, Mardán in the centre, and Hashtnagar to the west. Of the three latter, Doaba Daudzai includes the *doáb* of the Swát and Kábul rivers and the plains on the right bank of the latter down to its junction with the former, while Pesháwar comprises all the western portion of the district, and the territory on the right bank of the united Swát and Kábul rivers constitutes the Nowshera *tahsíl*. The Mardán and Utmán Bulaq *tahsíls* constitute the Yusafzai subdivision of the district, which is in separate charge of an Assistant Commissioner stationed at Hoti Mardán.

Some leading statistics regarding the district and the several *tahsíls* into which it is divided are given in Table No. I on the opposite page. The district contains two towns of more than 10,000 souls—

Pesháwar ...	...	...	...	...	79,982
Nowshera ...	...	...	...	...	12,963

Chapter I, A.

Descriptive.

General description.

The administrative head-quarters are situated at Pesháwar, in the west centre of the district, on the Punjab Northern State Railway. Pesháwar stands 20th in order of area and 17th in order of population among the 32 districts of the Province, comprising 2·35 per cent. of the total area, 3·16 per cent. of the total population, and 5·28 per cent. of the urban population of British territory. The latitude, longitude, and height in feet above the sea of the principal places in the district are shown below :—

Town.	N. Latitude.	E Longitude	Feet above sea-level.
Pesháwar	34° 2	71° 37′	1,108
Nowshera (Cantonment)...	34° 0′	72° 1′	1,120*
Mardán	34° 12′	72° 6′	1,200*
Tangi	34° 18	71° 42′	.....

* Approximate.

Boundaries and physical features.

The boundaries of the district have been described above in general terms. But, as a fact, the exact line which separates British from Independent Territory is in many cases very ill-defined. A list of the border villages of the district with a notice of the line up to which measurements were carried in each at the Regular Settlement (1875) is given by Colonel Hastings in his Settlement Report. A glance at the map will show that the line of the Indus between Torbela (in Hazára) and Attock (Atak) is continued from Attock towards the west-south-west by the northern slopes of the Khattak hills, a terminating spur of the Great White Mountain (Sufaid Kóh). If, taking this line as a base, and a point a few miles to the west of Attock as a centre, a circular arc be traced upon the map, having its extremities at Torbela on the Indus towards the east, and at Fort Mackeson at the foot of the Khattak range towards the west, it will be found to correspond roughly with the boundary of Pesháwar. The Pesháwar valley in fact is an amphitheatre, closed in on all sides by hills except for the few miles where it rests upon the Indus. It is drained by the Kábul river, which, debouching from the hills ten miles to the north of the entrance to the Khaibar pass, traverses the valley with a direction towards the east-south-east, and joins the Indus opposite Attock. At Nisatha, 24 miles from its point of exit from the hills, it receives the Swát river, which leaves the hills 21 miles farther to the north. Opposite Nowshera, about the centre of the valley, it further receives the Kalpani, by which the drainage of Swát is carried across the plain of Yusafzai. From the south its main affluent is the Bára, which, passing close by the city of Pesháwar, enters the main river a few miles above its junction with the Swát.

Mountains of the Border.

Between the Indus opposite Torbela and the point where the Swát enters the district the frontier is irregular. The shape is determined by a curving line of hill, the last transverse spur of a great range, which running southwards from the Pamir Steppe and the eastern extremity of the Hindu Kush, terminates in Swát a few miles beyond the border. From this line of hills irregular spurs run down at right angles to the British Frontier, separated by intricate lateral valleys, which, hemmed in by lofty precipices, conceal

in secure nooks the villages of the occupying clans. The hills are for the most part bare, though the higher peaks are clothed here and there with pine, and the sides of others have a scanty covering of brushwood. They afford, however, good pasturage for the cattle and flocks. The drainage from the hills has in places perforated the sloping sides of the valleys into a network of ravines, a strong natural barrier against the approach of an invading force. High cultivated ridges occupy the intervening spaces, except in parts where immediately below the hills a layer of loose stones conceals the surface. Outlying hills belonging to the same system occur at intervals along this portion of the frontier, rising out of the plains of Yusafzai. South of the Swát the Utmánkhel and Mohmand hills which still belong to the Hindu Kush system, and the latter of which form the boundary of the Doaba *parganah* lying between the Swát and Kábul rivers, form parallel lines* running north and south, and connected by a transverse range, which has a direction nearly due west towards Jalalábád. The outermost range offers a nearly straight line to the British frontier. The ranges in this direction are low and wanting in the bold features which distinguish the mountains of Swát and Boner. They are entirely devoid of timber. A few shrubs, principally of the *káo* or wild olive, are sprinkled at their base; but with this exception they are scantily endowed with any kind of vegetation. Bare, stony, and irregular, they rise abruptly from the plain, their ridges running parallel to the border, and not forming valleys as in Yusafzai. Opposite the fort of Shabkadar at the old site of Panjpao, they fall back and form an amphitheatre, occupied by a table-land some three miles in breadth and two in depth, stony and intersected by ravines. On approaching the Kábul river, they retire again, and run nearly parallel to the stream for a few miles until they strike its bank at Michni.

From Michni to the Bára river the Mulagori and Afridi hills are loftier, but bare and irregular as those of the Mohmands. The Tartarra peak, over the entrance to the Khaibar Pass rises to a height of 6,826 feet, and from its summit may be obtained a view of a large portion of the Ningrahár valley. The interior of these hills produces great quantities of firewood, but no large trees; their sides are rocky and precipitous. They present the appearance more of groups of mountains than of a connected chain, and form the western limit of the Khalíl *parganah*. They can, however, all be traced to a connection with the great range of the Sufaid Kóh, of which they are in fact lateral spurs, the Khattak hills which bound the district on the south being the line orographical continuation of the range. From the Bára river to the Kohát Pass, the hills of the Akakhel, and thence to the Jawaki Pass, those of the Adamkhel, form the western and southern boundaries of the Mohmand *parganah*; further in, they furnish large quantities of firewood, but are bare and rocky towards the plain. The hills upon the border are of no great height; but immediately beyond them and due west of fort Mackeson is the peak of Mullaghar 7,060 feet high. The villages of this *parganah*

* Between two of them the Swát runs Southwards till it sweeps Eastwards just before its debouchment into the plains.

Chapter I, A.—Descriptive.

Mountains of the Border.

are situated on the Bára, and a few large ones are located near the hills to the south; the remainder is chiefly waste, a *mairá* running under the hills, and crossing the district to the vicinity of the Attock road; deep and stony ravines intersect it, the lurking places and highways of Afridi robbers from time immemorial. The Khattak range continues the boundary to the Indus, maintaining an average height of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. The higher parts of these hills, though destitute of large forest trees, are clothed with smaller vegetation, consisting principally of the wild olive: the Khattak *pargana* is an irregular mass of low hills between this range and the Kábul river,* a narrow strip of plain only occurring close to the latter, along which the Grand Trunk Road is carried; the villages are situated in defiles and on ledges amongst these hills, and cultivation is scanty. The highest point, known as Jalála Sir is close to Cherát and reaches a height of 5,110 feet. Chajut Sir, 13 miles west of Attock, is 3,410 feet.

The ranges and main peaks surrounding the district.

The names of the main peaks which surround the district, following the same order as used in describing the configuration, are given below:—

Ranges.	Name of Peaks.	Height.	Ranges	Name of Peaks.	Height.
		Feet.			Feet.
North-east range ...	Mahaban ...	7,471	Western range ...	Tartarra ...	6,862
	Sarpatai ...	...		Saparai ...	...
	Garru ...	...		Chapri Sir ...	
	Ali Sher ...	...		Mullaghar ...	7,060
	Sinawar ...	...		Sari Sir ...	4,840
North range ...	Illam ...	9,341	South range ...	Jelála Sir ...	5,033
	Mora ...	6,723		Cherát ..	4,497
	Chérát ...	...		Mir Kalan ...	4,544
	Shahkot ...	...		Chajju Sir ...	3,410
	Malla Kund ..	...		Bahadur Khán ...	3,920
	Hazárnao ...	...		Tri Sir ...	3,317
	Khanora ...	...			

Two hills of Yusafzai situated in the plain.

In the sub-division of Yusafzai there are two small hills, Karamar and Panjpír; they stand out in the plain and are worthy of mention. Kara-mar, the highest, is situated to the north-east of Hoti Mardán; it is about 3,480 feet above the sea and 2,280 above the Yusafzai plain. On its northern slope there are a few fir trees, and the appearance of the hill on that side is green and pleasing; its southern aspect is a mere bluff ridge. There is a sloping plateau at the summit which would do for sites. If tanks for holding water were constructed, the place might be utilized by the Civil and Military Officers in Yusafzai during the summer months. There is a *ziárat* on its summit dedicated to Yakki Yusaf who was buried there. Panjpír, the other, is a smaller and sharper ridge; it rises to the height of 2,130 feet above the sea, or 940 feet above the Yusafzai plain. It has no trees, but is covered in parts with low brushwood; at the top there are some heaps of stones (*dheris*) dedicated to the Panjpír, or five great saints of the Mahomedans. The Hindus affirm that the place was dedicated to the Panch Pando or five Pando brothers of the Mahabharat. A good view of the lower part of the district, Attock, and the Khattak range with its *ziárats* is obtained from the top of the hill.

* Known below Nisatta as the Lundai.

The River System.

The Indus ultimately receives the whole drainage of the Peshawar valley, all but an insignificant part of it having been previously collected in the Kábul. Of the Kábul the principal affluents are the Swát from the north-west, the Bára from the south-west, and the Kalpani from the north. The Kábul, Swát, and Bára unite with the Budní at Nisatta, 14 miles north of Peshawar to form the Lundai (short) or lowest section of the Kábul river, which after a course of only 36 miles falls into the Indus near Attock. The portion of the district which does not drain in the first instance into the Kábul is the country lying below the Sir-i-maira, or "crest of the desert," in other words, the old high bank of the Indus. Setting aside this small tract, the drainage system of the district may be mapped out into three divisions: Yusafzai and part of Hashtnagar drained by the Kalpani and its affluents; the whole western portion of the district, drained by the Swát, Kábul and Bára above their junction at Nisatta; and the southern portion of the district (including the Mohmand and Khattak *tappas*) draining directly into the Kábul below Nisatta. A more detailed account will now be given of each of the rivers mentioned.

The Indus.

On debouching from the hills opposite Torbela (in Hazára), the Indus at once divides into numerous channels, and thus continues until, opposite Attock, it is again contracted into a narrow gorge. For about eight miles to the north of its present bed, the country lies low, and is of fresh alluvial formation; beyond, rises a high and well defined bank, marking the commencement of the *mairá* or table-land of Yusafzai, and thence known as the *sir-i-maira* or (as it is usually translated) the "crest of the desert." The same high bank is continued for nearly twelve miles westwards, following the line of the Kábul river and at a mean distance of about four miles from it. Abrupt upon its southern front, it slopes gradually towards the north.* From one point of view it might be simply described as an arc bounding the plain of Yusafzai on the south-east and south; but its position and the presence of water-worn boulders at its base corresponding to those found in the present bed of the Indus, mark it clearly as the ancient bank of that river; or, with reference to the theory put forward elsewhere as to the lacustrine formation of the Peshawar valley, it may well be that, as the great lake which once occupied the whole valley gradually dwindled with the increasing size of its outlet at Attock, caused by the scour of the escaping stream, a last stand was made within the limits now marked by this *sir-i-maira* on the north and the extremity of the plain of Chach to the south. This supposition would account for the extension of the *sir-i-maira* along the direction of the Kábul, which may be supposed to have scoured out for itself a lower bed in the marshy soil that would be left by the lake as it finally subsided. The present bed of the river between Torbela and Attock has an extreme width of about three miles, and is seldom less than 1½ mile. The course of the main stream is intricate, and is never the same for two consecutive years; minor channels separate the bed into numerous islands, most of which are submerged in the season of

* The drainage of the country to the west of the *sir-i-maira* flows westwards into the Kalpani.

Chapter I, A. Descriptive.

The Indus.

flood. Some on the other hand stand out at all the times high and comparatively dry, and are covered in many instances with forests of *sissu* (*Dalbergia sissu*); others of the islands afford excellent pasturage for the cattle of the villages on either bank.

Besides the Kábul the only real affluents of the Indus in this district are two streams which bring down the drainage of the Mahaban mountain and the hills lying to the south of Chamlá, and enter the Indus, the one near Munárá, the other near Hind. Other superficial *gullies* and ravines carry down the drainage of the long strip of country lying below the *sir-i-mairá*, but none require special mention. The depth of water at Attock varies from 40 feet in the winter months to 75 feet at the time of flood. The volume of its stream varies greatly with the season of the year. In the winter it is reduced to narrow limits; in the summer it fills its whole bed. The bed consists of boulders and sand. There are three ferries, Pihúr to Dal Mahat—this is at the eastern corner of Yusafzai; the Hind ferry, which is lower down the stream—this is used by persons going from Swát and Bajaur direct to Lahore, or by Yusafzais visiting Chach; the third is at Khairábád, exactly opposite to Attock and 15 miles distant from Hind. There is also a drift gallery underneath the river bed, excavated at considerable cost, experimentally, to test the strata and the approximate cost of a tunnel. But both ferry and tunnel have now been superseded by the Attock bridge on the P. N. S. Railway, which was opened on the 1st June 1883, and carries a cart road and footway inside its girders. The river is not fordable during the cold season, but armies have crossed on emergencies with great loss. And the Sikh army forded it in 1823 at its widest point, opposite Hind. The villagers residing on its banks cross the river by swimming on *shinazes*, or inflated ox skins, which means of conveyance is utilized still further by carrying another person inside, without any inconvenience, provided the inside passenger is of medium size. Rafts (*jálás*) formed by planks or *charpais* placed on a foundation of inflated skins fastened together, are also used. The country is somewhat inundated when the river is at its highest during May, June and July; the inundation does not benefit the Pesháwar district, nor does the river supply any irrigation water to the lands on either bank. There are fish in the river; they are usually netted, or caught with hook and line, in the back waters near Attock, and monsters weighing 100lbs. have been caught. Otters (*Pashto, saglau*) are occasionally seen. Waterfowl do not abound, a few are to be shot near Hind, in the backwaters during the winter months.

The Kábul.

The river Kábul is supposed to rise in the Unai Pass, latitude 34° 17′, longitude 68° 14′, some 45 miles in a straight line from the city of the same name, at an elevation of about 8,400 feet, and receives the whole drainage of the mountains lying between Kábul and Pesháwar as well as that of Kafiristán, Chitrál, Panjakora, Swát and the neighbouring countries. After a course of about 250 miles it enters the Pesháwar valley and ultimately joins the Indus, immediately above Attock. It is said to be fordable till it reaches Kábul. After that it is swelled by affluents and becomes a rapid river, though still navigable by rafts (*jálás*). On leaving the hills opposite Michni, the

The Kábul.

river immediately throws off a branch, the Adezai, which preserving an independent course falls into the Swát near Chársadda, about three miles above the junction of the latter with the Kábul. A few miles lower, the main stream, locally known as the Nagomán, throws off another branch known as that of Sháh Alam, which after receiving the Bára rejoins the main stream about three miles above Nisatta, at which place the junction with the Swát takes place. For the rest of its course the united river is known as Lundai. The Sháh Alam was originally the principal stream, and of late years the greater body of water has shown a tendency to desert the Nagomán (which takes its name from the uncertainty of its volume) for its old bed. Both the Adezai and Sháh Alam branches are fordable for ten months in the year, but the Nagomán is only sometimes fordable at two places in December and January. The water of the minor branches is clear, and flows chiefly in a pebbly bed; but that of the main stream is turbid. The river commences to rise in April, attaining its greatest height in July and August, and falling to its winter level in November. During the summer the current is very strong and rapid, with so variable a course that a ferry is seldom to be found in the same spot for two successive years. In most places the overflow is not extensive, but the surplus waters are conveyed over the adjoining districts by numerous canals and cuts. Below Nowshera the river runs generally between high banks, and attains a greater velocity. Navigation upon this part of the river is rendered dangerous by numerous rocks and whirlpools in its course. The land on either side is for many months completely saturated with moisture, the stream in ordinary flood seasons flowing on a level with its banks. Water is therefore everywhere close to the surface, and in parts considerable tracts of bog or marsh are formed, which do not completely dry up at any season of the year. The character of the drainage both of this river and the Swát is thus described by Colonel McGregor:—

"A noteworthy feature in the character of the drainage is the distribution of the Swát and Kábul rivers into a large number of separate channels, which uniting together with the main streams, cover a large extent of surface with water and form numerous little islands. This arrangement, though it tends to saturate the soil and the air alike with moisture, is not without its special purpose. In the summer months when the volume of the Indus and Kábul rivers are increased by the melting of the snows on the mountains they drain, this network of branch channels serve as a preservative from inundation. For the increased volume of the Kábul river (bearing the drainage of the Kábul highlands and southern slopes of Hindu Kush), meeting the flood of the Indus at Attock, where the passage is through a narrow gorge in the hills by which the free flow of the extra water is impeded, is thrown back upon itself and distributed in those side channels until the high flood and obstruction ahead subside. Were it not for this provision the low tracts of Doába and Daudzai would be inundated annually at each flood of the Indus."

The Swát.

The Swát rises in the hills N. E. of Buner. Its course is at first south-westerly through the Swát valley; but after being joined by the Panjkorá river from the north, it turns southwards till it enters the Pesháwar valley above Abazai, 11 miles to the north of

Chapter I, A. Descriptive.

The Swát.

Michni, thence it flows due east till it joins the Kábul river at Nisatta, about half-way between Michni and Attock. After entering the plain of the Peshâwar valley the Swát maintains for some miles an undivided course, but immediately below the Abazai fort separates into two branches, the eastern or Jagai which irrigates Hashtnagar, and the western or Khyáli which irrigates Doába. Their banks are low, and they divide into many minor channels which wind through rich meadows, their banks fringed with willow and poplar, and ultimately unite at Chársadda, three miles above Nisatta. At this point also the Swát receives the Adezai branch of the Kábul. The waters of the Swát are clear and cold; the bed is here and there choked with rocks, and the stream at such places presents the appearance of a foaming rapid. "The ferry at Abazai," writes Major James, "immediately below one of these obstructions, is a dangerous one; there "is a ford here which is practicable for three or four months, but the "passage is generally attended with risk on account of the strong current, and the boulders which are met with. On one occasion, when "a troop of Horse Artillery was fording at this place, two of the men "were carried down the current and drowned, and similar accidents "have been frequent. The late Colonel Mackeson was the only person "I have heard of who has swum across the Swát river at its flood; "though Lieutenant Peyton, of Her Majesty's 87th Regiment, rescued "a native from drowning midway in the stream, an act of manly "daring, which deserves a record." There are many other points at which the stream is fordable during the cold weather. The nature of the river-bed and its flood closely resemble those of the Kábul. The Swát canal now approaching completion has its heads at the *debouchure* of the river into the plains, some two miles above Abazai.

Irrigation from the Kábul and Swát.

The Kábul river irrigates a portion of the present Peshâwar *tahsíl* (*tappah* Khálsa), *parganah* Daudzai, and six villages of *parganah* Doába. The Swát river irrigates the remainder of the Doába, and 43 villages of *tahsíl* Hashtnagar. Both these rivers rise in summer after the melting of the snow, and inundate the lands of some villages on their banks; the inundations are uncertain in their results, sometimes beneficial, and at other times the contrary. During the winter the channels of both rivers are fordable at particular places. The bed of the channels generally consists of boulders and sand, the water is not anywhere very clear, and the bottom, except in shallows, not visible. There is no navigation by country boats above Chársadda, where a considerable number of boats are annually built. The rivers abound with fish and wild fowl, and swans have been killed on the Swát river.*

The Bára.

The Bára proper has its rise in a valley of the same name, lying on the southern side of the Khaibar hills, but receives the greater part of its volume, as represented in Peshâwar, from another stream, the Tiráh Toi, which rises further east than the Bára and collects the drainage of the Tira valley. The two streams unite about eight miles beyond the British border; from which point the river runs towards the north-east, until, after passing within two miles of Peshâwar, it falls into the Shâh Alam branch of the Kábul about a mile above

* For an account of the Swát river canal and the irrigation from it, see Chap. V.

The Bára.

the junction of the latter with the main stream within the limits of the village of Jangal. Where it first enters the district, the Bára is at most seasons of the year a diminutive stream, but it is shortly fed by some clear and copious springs in the neighbourhood of the fort to which it gives its name. These springs are celebrated for their salubrity; and many of the Sikh Sirdars caused supplies of water from them to be brought daily to Pesháwar in sealed vessels. The greater portion of the water is diverted near the fort into the water-courses of Khalíl and Mohmand, while another cut conveys a supply through the cantonments and city of Pesháwar. In ordinary times, therefore, the lower course of the Bára is altogether, or nearly, dry. But after rain has fallen in the Tiráh hills, a muddy volume rushes down, which renders the stream impassable for several days, and often sweeps before it the dams which form the canal heads below fort Bára. A rich alluvial deposit of red clay, very valuable as a fertilising agent, is brought down by these floods. When the dams stand, as they do except when the floods are unusually heavy, the waters charged with deposit so fertilise the irrigated lands as to make manure unnecessary. The villages on the lower part of the Bára have constructed cuts for the special purpose of utilising the flood-water. It is crossed by the roads from Pesháwar to Kohát and Attock. Good bridges exist on both these roads. This stream gives its name to the celebrated Bára rice, which is grown in some of the villages on its banks. The Sikhs required the whole crop to be brought to Pesháwar, where the best portion was reserved for seed, the next best was sent to Ranjít Singh at Lahore, and the remainder left to the *zamindárs*. Less care being now taken to preserve a good supply of seed, the quality of the rice, though still held in high estimation, is said to have deteriorated. The river Bára is in a measure an object of veneration, and Shekhán, the spot where its waters are first divided for purposes of irrigation, is held especially sacred. The Afridis who control its head waters are always able to stop its stream—a proceeding which they often practised in the times of the Sikhs. Such water as the Afridis allow to enter the plain is appropriated in the following manner: A certain quantity, reckoned by the number of mills it can turn, is taken for the use of the gardens, city and cantonments of Pesháwar, and the remainder is equally divided between the Khalíls and Mohmands, who often quarrel about their respective shares. Major James thought this was perhaps the river alluded to by Baber in his memoirs as flowing in the vinicity of Pesháwar, which he called the Siah Ab, a name which cannot be locally traced, but would apply if the Bára were in flood, and there were more water, as probably there used to be before it was used for irrigation to the extent it now is. The hard conglomerate banks of the Bára distinctly show by the channels that have perforated its sides that ages ago the bed was very much higher than it is now, and that it has been gradually worn down to its present level, and so in those times the river, of more constant volume owing to the trees and forest-clad mountains through which it ran, did flow past Pesháwar.

Chapter I, A., Descriptive.

The Kalpani or Chalpani.

The drainge of Hashtnagar and Yusafzai to the west of the *sir-i-mairá*, together with that of the northern hills is ultimately all collected into the Kalpani, and by this one channel makes its way into the Kábul. The Kalpani has its rise in Baezi or Lundhkhwar, and flowing southwards joins the Kábul between Nowshera and the village of Pir Sabak. Its principal tributary from the west is the Bagiarai, which has its rise near the Mulakand Pass, and joins the Kalpani at Sujar Sarki. Through this stream and its affluents, together with numerous minor tributaries, the Kalpani collects the drainage of the southern face of the Swát hills. From the east the main tributary of the Kalpani is the Mokam, a stream which has many subordinate feeders, and drains the hills of Buner. It joins the main river near the village of Toru. Others of the streams by which these hills are drained do not survive to reach the Kalpani. Of these the most important is the Wuch, which drains the hills to the west of Chamlá. It is lost in a series of pools to the north-east of Toru. Of all these streams, the Kalpani alone conveys from the hills a perennial supply of water. The others fail during the dry season of the year, bringing perhaps a small driblet from the hills, but not a sufficient volume to penetrate many miles into the plain. At such seasons the supply is sensibly increased by springs occurring in the sides of the ravines through which they flow. After rain in the hills, on the other hand, the water rises rapidly, and raging torrents often bar communication for many hours at a time in courses which an hour before might be crossed with water barely ankle deep. The crossing of the Kalpani is rendered dangerous on account of the special suddenness of its floods, and its numerous ever-shifting quicksands.* In addition to the drainage of the hills the Kalpani receives the drainage of the Yusafzai plain, which enters it by means of the numerous and intricate ravines described in another paragraph. Its valley occupies the lowest ground between the commencement of the upland of Hashtnagar on the west and the *sir-i-maira* on the east.

The Budni.

The Budni stream, as now existing, is a continuation of the Chora Khwar, a ravine which drains the Khaibar hills. This ravine joins the bed of the Budni from the point where it is crossed by the canal, locally known as the Sheikh-ka-Katha. This canal is carried across the bed of the ravine between dams called the Dág-band. When rain falls heavily in the hills, the Chora Khwar floods, and not unfrequently carries away this dam; in which case the water of the Sheikh-ka-Katha flows down the bed of the Budni. At all times there is an escape from the dam into the Budni; the water that thus escapes is supplemented by springs in the bed of the Budni and by waste water from the Daudzai irrigation. About two miles from the city, where the Daudzai road crosses it by a bridge, the Budni stream turns abruptly to the east and finally falls into the Sháh Alam branch of the Kábul river in the boundaries of Dáman Hindki. It is a dangerous river to cross in the summer, during which season it carries a great deal of water, and hence the derivation

* Hence, according to Dr. Bellew, its name (Chalpani corrupted to Kalpani), or "deceitful water."

of the name Budni from Dubni, signifying drowned. It only irrigates 11 villages and turns seven mills; if the level of its bed could be raised, it would carry at certain seasons of the year sufficient water to irrigate as much as the Bára river does. It is customary to give the name Budni, not only to the stream above described, but also to that portion of the Sheikh-ka-Katha canal, which lies between its head on the Kábul river and the Dág-band.

The Budni.

The Kábul, Swát, and Bára rivers and the Budni stream with all the drainage of the north-west, west, and south-west, unite at Nisatta; and from that point to where the combined waters join the Indus, the stream is known as the Lundai or short river, in length only 36 miles.

The Lundai.

The combined streams form a large river which is navigable by country boats. Below Nowshera the river runs between rather high banks, and is of no use for irrigation; in the summer a great deal of land on both sides of its course is inundated, enabling some spring crops to be raised. There are five ferries as well as a bridge of boats, which last is kept up throughout the year at Nowshera—and keeps open the communication with the Yusafzai sub-division. Near Nowshera there are some floating flour mills in boats worked by paddle wheels turned by the current. The drainage from the north and east also falls into the river at different points above Jehángirá. There has been no disastrous flood caused by the stoppage of the Indus since 1858, when the waters of the Lundai, according to Major James, continued to flow up stream for twelve hours at a rate of from four to five miles—and this retrograde flow was observed as far as Nisatta. In that flood eight villages were destroyed and twenty or more damaged. There was a flood before this in 1841, and then 5,000 or 6,000 lives were lost. In 1874 the floods were exceptional.

Marshes.

There are no lakes in the district; but owing to extensive percolation from the rivers, large marshes are formed in many low lying tracts in the neighbourhood of the Swát and Kábul. There is also a large marsh near Peshawar. On some old maps, it is noted that at a place near Murghus below the *sir-i-maira* and not far from the present bed of the Indus, a lake of several miles in extent is formed after every eight or ten years, and such a tradition is held by the inhabitants. The part where the lake is said to be formed is low and verdant, and almost marshy, water being abundant in pits at six and eight feet from the surface. A small sluggish stream runs through the tract, and the so-called lake is merely a marsh formed on this low ground in seasons of excessive rain. Colonel Ommaney says there is a well at Topi, which for some years nearly overflows and then for years remains at a lower level; the springs in this village and near Kotal also show this periodical rise and fall.

Natural divisions of the valley.

Thus the Peshawar valley—taking that expression in its widest sense to include the whole of the amphitheatre enclosed by the encircling hills already described—comprises four main natural divisions: (1) a shingly tableland fringing the plain immediately below the hills upon the north-west and west; (2) the open plain (*mairá*) of Yusafzai and Hashtnagar; (3) the Doába, enclosed between the Swát and Kábul rivers; (4) a region of low hills and intricate ravines to the

Chapter I, A. Descriptive.

Natural divisions of the valley.

south of the Kábul river, gradually rising to the heights of the Khattak hills. To these may be added a fifth division, comprising a fertile strip to the south of the Kábul river, and the rich lowlands generally which follow the courses of rivers or lie in the bottoms of ravines. This division has been incidentally noticed in the description of the river system of the district; of the other divisions a short description will now be given.

The plains of Hashtnagar and Yusafzai are thus described by Dr. Bellew:—

The great Yusafzai plain.

"The tract presents a gently undulating surface plain throughout in its central, western, and southern tracts; but, to the northward and eastward, it is more or less overrun by low rocky ridges, jutting out from the main mountain ranges in those directions. In the former tracts, the country is a vast open expanse; and, except in the immediate vicinity of the rivers, along whose banks are many villages and much cultivation, presents at the first glance a singularly uninviting aspect, owing to the paucity or entire absence of trees on large tracts, and the uninteresting level of the surface. On closer inspection, however, it is found to possess more variation of scene than is discovered at first view. The country is traversed by some great ravines or vicarious river channels, along the courses of which are planted a number of villages with their trees, gardens, and cultivated lands, though still the greatest portion by far is an extensive stretch of waste land, termed in the colloquial *mairá*. The *mairá* is more or less covered with a stunted brushwood, composed mostly of *bair* bushes. Between the detached patches of these, are strips of cultivation along the borders of the waste, and the general surface supports a growth of grasses and herbs that suffice to pasture the cattle and flocks of the district. The *mairá* is not one unbroken spread of waste land, but is divided by the great central *nallah* or ravine of Yusafzai, and the cultivation of the population settled along its course into two main tracts, named according to their relative local positions. That on the west is the Hashtnagar *mairá*, and that on the south-east is the Khattak *mairá*. In former times, these desert tracts were constantly traversed by armed and mounted bands of robbers, who lived by the plunder of unwary travellers, or of cattle straying too far from their village grazing grounds; but, since the establishment of the British rule, all this has been put a stop to, and now travellers and cattle cross and wander over its wide and lonely wastes without let or hindrance. The best proof of the present security of these formerly dangerous tracts, is in the fact of the progressive extension of cultivation on its surface, far away from protection for the crop under other circumstances. Year by year, by steady degrees, the waste is being reclaimed and brought under cultivation. One other object deserves note in this place, as being connected with the aspect of the country. I allude to the numerous mounds of bare earth that dot the country all over, and which from their singular appearance, magnitude, and numbers at once attract the attention and excite curiosity as to their origin, history and meaning. They are artificial heaps, abounding in fragments of red pottery and the remains of old walls, &c., and are evidently the sites of the habitations of men of bygone ages.

"In its lateral tracts, the Yusafzai plain presents a more diversified aspect than that of the central tract just described; and though of opposite kinds on the different sides, much more interesting and grateful to the eye.

"The tract on the western side is occupied by the separate district of Hashtnagar. Here the land lies low in a strip along the left bank of the Swát and Kábul rivers, contains many villages, is highly cultivated, freely irrigated, and well stocked with large trees, such as the mulberry, *sissu*,

The great Yusafzai plain.

tamarisk, jujube, &c., and willows along the water-courses. Away from the river, the land rises into the *maîrá* which is used as a common grazing ground for the cattle of the district. The tract along the eastern side of the plain as well as along the whole extent of its northern boundary presents a picturesque mountain scenery. Here hill and dale succeed each other in every variety of arrangement. At distant intervals, great spurs project on to the plain and gulf off the mountain skirts into a series of close valleys which, by varying combinations of glen and gorge, rock and precipice, meadow and water-course, scattered groves and compact villages, present a variety of scenery seldom met with in one district; and which to be duly appreciated, must be seen. The general surface along this tract, although very stony, and much cut up by the drainage of the hills, is nevertheless well cultivated. Not unfrequently the cultivation is carried high up the hill slopes, on which for the most part the cattle are dependent for pasture. On the lower spurs this is at best but scanty; for such ridges are mostly bare ledges of rock in their lower heights, though more or less well covered with a stunted brushwood and varied herbage at their higher elevations. The very general absence of large trees, and of pines especially, on these spurs is a notable feature; for on the highest ranges the splendid and extensive pine forests form an essential element in the beauty of the scenery, as well as in the virtues of the climate.

"There is no perennial stream flowing all through the Yusafzai plain; but the drainage from the hills, as well as that from the plain itself, is carried off by a number of ravines, the extent, magnitude, and ramifications of which constitute a remarkable feature of the country, whilst they are objects of importance on account of the sudden floodings they are at certain seasons subject to, rendering them for a while obstacles to free communication between the different portions of the district they traverse. Most of the ravines have one or more springs, in some part or other of their course, though mostly near their origin in the hills. The water from these springs, to a limited extent, is more or less constant throughout the year; and, as a general rule, in seasons of unusual drought, when the springs disappear from the surface, water is generally to be obtained by digging down a few feet in the beds of their former streams. According to native accounts, the water in all these ravines has greatly diminished during the past half century, and several permanent springs, it is reported, have entirely disappeared. At the present day, there is certainly a scarcity of water in the district generally, and several circumstances combine to lead to the belief that this was not the case in former ages. The majority of the ruins and other remains of the former habitations of man are now desert wastes from this very cause; for those of them that still retain facilities for water-supply are at this day inhabited, new buildings having risen on the ruins of the old. History also describes this tract of country as far more populous, better wooded, and more plentifully supplied with water, than it is at the present day. At the present day the *nallah*, ravine, or natural water-course, is the only reliable source of water-supply in all that portion of the district not directly on the river's bank. To this there are but few exceptions, and it will be found as a consequence that the bulk of the population are settled along their courses, or else in their vicinity, for in such positions wells are remunerative, and supply water as well for agricultural as domestic purposes. On the flanks of the main channel of drainage, between it and the river boundaries on the other hand, as well as between its more distant branches, the land is more or less elevated and dry, as in the central tracts, the Hashtnagar and Khattak *mairás*, &c. In such tracts there are but few, if

Chapter I, A. Descriptive.

any, villages ; whilst the cultivation is entirely dependent on the heavens for its supplies of moisture."

The great Yusafzai plain.

Three principal streams (ravines) carry off the drainage of the hills across the plain. The Kalpani (Chalpani—deceitful water) receives the water of the Swát mountains: one branch springs from the foot of the Mullákand range and runs through the Ranezai valley, meeting the other which comes down the neighbouring valley of Baczai or Lundkhwar at Gujar Garhi, whence the united waters passing through the *tappas* of Hoti and Toru, fall into the Kábul river near Nowshera. The Mokam collects the waters of the Bunér hills at the head of the Sadhum valley, and passing by Garhi Kapur, joins the Kalpani near Toru. The Badri rises in the Panjtar hills, and falls into the Indus between Hind and Harian; while the Shákót ravine which drains Mahában, discharges itself into the Indus not far from Zarobi. These streams have but little water in them during the hot season, flowing from springs which are met with towards their source, and at lower points in their beds; but they fill after rain has fallen in the hills, and acquire the force of torrents becoming impassable for many hours. The springs were formerly much more copious than at present, but were injuriously affected by the great earthquake of 1842; while of late years the water-supply has still further decreased.

The tracts of plain country lying between these great ravines are more or less well cultivated everywhere along their banks, where there are facilities for irrigation by means of wells; but at a distance from the ravines—though even on these there are extensive stretches of cultivation unirrigated artificially,—the tracts are for the most part left waste as grazing grounds for the cattle. For this purpose, however, they are only available during the spring and autumn months, as during both the summer heats and winter frosts the surface is more or less barren. As a consequence, the cattle of the country are during these seasons frequently hard pushed for the means of subsistence; and the result is, that the breed,—though perhaps, not solely from this cause,—is an inferior one, being of low height, small limbed, and more or less generally ill-favoured.

The Doába.

The Doába is throughout fertile, well wooded and populous. A *maira* runs along the foot of the border hills for their whole length, varying in depth from one to five miles. Very little of this is cultivated; but it produces fair pasture for the cattle of the villages. The remainder of the Doába is fertile and highly cultivated, the villages numerous, and the country better wooded than in other parts. Lying low towards the Kábul and Swát, it is plentifully intersected by ravines and artificial streams, by which the water of these rivers is made available for irrigation. The soil is of mixed sand and clay. The lowlands of the Swát and Kábul have already been described.

South of the Kábul.

South of the Kábul river the country falls into three main divisions—

(1) A low-lying tract following the line of the Kábul from a short distance below the hills eastwards to the neighbourhood of Nowshera. This is rich and well cultivated, commanding plentiful

irrigation from the Kábul. It comprises the northern half of the *tappa* Khalíl and the *tappas* Daudzai and Khalsa.

South of the Kábul.

(2) The southern part of the *tappas* Khalíl and Mohmand, lying (roughly) to the south of a line drawn eastwards from the entrance to the Khaibar Pass, and extending thence to the Afridi hills. The greater part of this is rendered impracticable by reason of the intricate ravines by which it is cut up. The exceptions are the valley of the Bára and an open plain in the centre of the Mohmand *tappa*. Between Peshâwar and Jamrúd the country is very stony, and to the south of the line thus indicated undulates into low and desolate hills, the spaces between which are cut up by water-courses into deep and precipitous ravines. The cantonments of Peshâwar are built upon one of these hilly ridges; and was surrounded by much broken and raviny ground till levelled and filled in with great labour. Then comes the valley of the Bára, a fertile tract enjoying plentiful irrigation by means of cuts from the stream. Beyond this again is the Mohmand *tappa*. The greater part of the villages of this *tappa* are in the valley of the Bára. On two sides, to the south and south-east, it is deeply cut up by ravines and water-courses from the hills. Its centre is an elevated and stony plain dependent for fertility upon the seasons. It has an average width from south to north of about seven miles, and it is known as the *mairá*. The soil is good and much of it is under cultivation; but intricate ravines cross and recross it in many directions, lurking places in former days for Afridi robbers, and still an impediment to cross-country communication.

(3) The Khattak *parganah*. This consists entirely of an irregular mass of low hills, the terminating spurs of the Khattak range, which extend northwards almost to the Kábul, and eastwards to the Indus. Between the hills and the Kábul a narrow strip of level ground intervenes, along which is carried the Grand Trunk Road. The villages are situated in defiles and on ledges amongst the hills. The latter are described as "dreadfully desolate, parched up and "impracticable. Their sides are in some places clothed with a "scattered thorn jungle, which in the smaller glens often becomes so "dense as to hinder movement."

Summary of Physical Features.

Major James concludes his description of the physical configuration of the Peshâwar valley with the following expressions:—

"It will thus be seen that, with the exception of the Yusafzai border, where cultivated valleys run up into the hills of the Khattak *parganah* which is itself a mass of low hills, and of the tract directly in front of Azakhel, Yusafkhel, Pasanni, Adézai, and Matanni, where cultivation is carried on close to the hills, a waste tract intervenes between the cultivated parts of the district and the mountain border, of an average depth of from three to four miles, for the most part stony and intersected by ravines; that the western and central portions of the district, within the influence of the rivers and their branches, are highly cultivated; and that the remainder is an unirrigated plain with a fertile soil, and yielding extensive crops when rain falls opportunely. Dr. Lord was of opinion, from certain geological facts, such as the structure of igneous rocks poured out under strong pressure, the presence of fossil shells, &c., that the valleys of Peshâwar, Jalalábád, and Kábul were, at some former period, the receptacles of inland lakes; and that the drainage of these basins, now carried on by the Kábul

Chapter I, A.

Descriptive.

Summary of Physical Features.

river, was in those times effected by the bursting of the mountain barriers. He considered that the shattered fragments and rolled blocks that strew the Khaibar Pass, bear testimony to its once having afforded exit to a mighty rush of waters, while the Gídar Galli, a defile east of the plain, points out the course of the torrent towards the bed of the Indus. In support of this view, Dr. Lord mentions the fact that a well, sunk by the Sikhs in the Fort of Jamrúd, situated at the mouth of the Khaibar, passed through rolled pebbles of slate and limestone (the constituents of the Khaibar range) to a depth of 200 feet; whilst the wells of Pesháwar, 14 miles distant, are generally 20 or 30 feet deep, and never passed through anything but mud and clay strata. If the plain had once been the basin of a lake, into which a stream had poured through the Khaibar, the heavier matter with which the stream was charged would have been deposited at its very entrance into the lake, while the lighter mud and clay would have floated on to a considerable distance."

From another point of view Colonel McGregor writes:—

"The plain of the Pesháwar valley is characterized by an uniform yet easy slope inwards from the hills to the Kábul river, and also by the very marked manner in which it is, especially in the neighbourhood of the hills, intersected by ravines of great depth and impracticability. There is, I believe, no such thing as a wide unbroken plain for any great distance, and however smooth it may be to the eye from a distance, a nearer approach discloses some deep ravine or hidden water-course which bars communication"

Scenery.

The beauty of the Pesháwar valley at certain seasons of the year has often been spoken of in glowing terms. Major James, who is among its more moderate admirers, writes as follows:—

"Although, as seen by a traveller on its high road, the general bare nature of the surrounding hills, the broad tracts of partial waste and the numerous ravines which cross his path, tend to impart an air of wild sterility to the valley, especially in the winter months when the deciduous character of the foliage makes it bleaker still; yet by those who have had further means of observation, I think it must be conceded that the more extended appearance of the valley is pleasing and picturesque. The view from any of the rising grounds about Pesháwar of the cultivated plain around, rich with fields of corn, and studded with villages and groves, with the clear bold outline of the mountains, surmounted by the snowy peaks of the Hindu Kush and Sufaid Kóh, cannot fail to charm, whilst the glens of Yusafzai, the slopes of the Khattak range, and the banks of the Swát or Bára rivers, abound with spots of rich and varied beauty. Those who have travelled much amongst the Afghans, and visited them in their sequestered valleys, retain a pleasing impression of the general characteristics of their homes. Emerging from wild and craggy defiles, with a solitary tower here and there perched up on the overhanging rocks, the stranger comes suddenly upon the village site; springs of refreshing clearness pass from rocky cisterns to the brook which had repeatedly crossed his path in the defile, and which is here fringed with rows of weeping-willow, and edged with brightest sward. The village is half hid from view with overshadowing mulberry and poplar-trees, the surrounding fields enamelled with a profusion of wild flowers, and fragrant with aromatic herbs. At some distance is seen a wood of thorn and tamarisk, in which are the graves of the village forefathers; an enclosing wall of stone, and the votive shreds which are suspended from the overhanging tree, point out the *ziárat* of some saintly ancient, which children pass with awe, and old men with reverence. The dream of peace and comfort which the contemplation of

Scenery.

such scenes suggests is, however, rudely dispelled by the armed ploughman who follows his cattle with a matchlock slung at his back; by the watch-tower occupied by a party of men to guard the growing crops; and by the heaps of stones visible in all directions, each of which marks the scene of some deed of blood. We cease, indeed, to be surprized at the love of home, which is so marked a feature of the Afghán character; for reared in a little world of his own, the associations of his childhood must make a more than ordinary impression on his mind; but we might expect that such spots would engender other feelings than those which lurk in the breast of the robber and assassin."

Colonel McGregor is more enthusiastic. He writes:—

"The general appearance of the west portion of the district, which may, *par excellence*, be considered the Peshâwar valley, is one of great beauty; at the right season it is a mass of verdant and luxuriant vegetation, relieved by the meanderings of the numerous canals and the lines of mulberry-trees, and set off by its bare stony surroundings, and the far distant and snowy peaks beyond. Writing in the days of the Duráni empire, Irwin says: 'There is no space of equal extent in the whole of Afghánistán that is equally cultivated or peopled.' And since then, relieved from the rapaciousness of its former rulers, the population has increased, and the cultivation extended. In truth the Peshâwar valley is, in spring, with its numerous thriving villages and its wide-spread green fields, an exhilarating sight. This description applies to Hashtnagar, Doába, Daudzai, and to portions of the Khalíl and Mohmand and Khálsa divisions; but the Yusafzai and Khattak divisions, as well as a great part of the last-named divisions, are very bare and bleak, intersected with difficult ravines and real wastes of stone or low scrub jungle."

Rainfall, temperature and climate.

Table No. III shows in tenths of an inch the total rainfall registered at each of the rain-gauge stations in the district for each year, from 1866-67 to 1882-83. The fall at head-quarters for the four preceding years is shown in the margin. The distribution of the rainfall throughout the year is shown in Tables Nos. IIIA and IIIB, while Table No. IV gives details of temperature for each of the last 14 years, as registered at head-quarters. Some details of the temperature at Cherát and Mardán are given in Chapter VI. Four seasons are recognised in the Peshâwar valley: *Spring* (*sparlai*) in February, March, and April. During this season there are occasional hail-storms, and rainfalls in the first two months to the extent of three or four inches in the aggregate. The air is cold and bracing, and the temperature as follows:

Year.	Tenths of an inch.
1862-63 ...	237
1863-64 ...	87
1864-65 ...	183
1865-66 ...	154

	Sun's rays.		Open air.		Daily range.	
	Max.	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*
February	116	75	68	17	44	22
March	130	92	82	29	38	21
April	145	127	98	31	92	40

Summer (*orai*) in May, June and July. During this season the air is densely hazy; dust storms are of almost daily occurrence during the last half of the period. During the first half of this season, strong northerly and north-westerly winds blow. Thunderstorms are of common occurrence upon the bordering hills, and often the dust storms are followed by considerable electric disturbance, but

Chapter I, A.

Descriptive.

Rainfall, temperature and climate.

rain rarely falls on the plain. This is the hottest season of the year and usually the most healthy in the valley. The temperature is as follows:—

	Sun's rays.		Open air.		Daily range.	
	Max.	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min*	*Max.*	*Min.*
May	165	121	130	35	88	56
June	165	153	130	38	77	59
July	165	152	137	58	72	49

Autumn (*manai*) in August, September, and October. This season is ushered in by the hot weather rains (*barshakal*). They break over the valley in four or five violent storms at intervals of a few days, and two or three inches of rainfall on each occasion. During the first half of this season the sky is more or less uniformly overcast with clouds, and the air is heavy and stagnant, except for a brief interval immediately succeeding a fall of rain, after which it becomes steamy and oppressive. This is usually a very unhealthy season particularly during its last half in which marsh fevers are rife. The temperature is as follows:—

	Sun's rays.		Open air.		Daily range.	
	Max.	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*
August	161	140	129	50	72	56
September	152	140	123	40	78	56
October	140	129	102	30	70	57

Winter (*zhima*) in November, December, and January. During this season the weather is variable. The sky is at first hazy, then cloudy with sometimes slight rain, and finally clear. There is a remarkable absence of wind generally, and at Peshâwar especially, the air is still and stagnant. The days are sometimes hot and the nights always cold. In all this season marsh fevers and inflammatory affections of the lungs and bowels are very prevalent. The temperature is as follows:—

	Sun's rays.		Open air.		Daily range.	
	Max.	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Min.*
November	132	112	96	25	64	20
December	112	69	85	24	33	19
January	119	88	65	22	43	19

The above indications of temperature rapidly diminish for three months, and slight earthquakes are occasionally felt up to April. Although snow seldom, if ever, falls in the valley, yet slight falls of snow on the plain are authenticated on at least two different occasions within the last few years, when, however, it remained unmelted for only a very short time. In each winter there are generally repeated falls of snow on those hills surrounding the valley, which reach to more than 3,000 feet above the sea; and on the higher hills towards the north and north-west snow is frequently seen for many days together; while on the still loftier ranges, it lies for many weeks at various times from the middle of November till the middle of May. Generally northerly and easterly winds are to southerly and westerly nearly as 9 to 5½; but from October to March southerly and westerly winds prevail; and the night breeze is found to be generally from the south and west directions. There is, however, really no such thing as a prevailing wind at Peshâwar; the direction from which the wind generally blows is from the west, but a general stagnant atmosphere is the characteristic of Peshâwar, and it is well known

that at Peshâwar *tatties* will not work at all. The main difference between the climate of Peshâwar and that of the Punjab proper consists in the length and severity of the Peshâwar winter. Its bracing character partly compensates for the extreme heat of summer, and the absence of regular summer rains.

Disease.

Tables Nos. XI, XIA, XIB, and XLIV give annual and monthly statistics of births and deaths for the district and for its towns during the last five years; while the birth and death rates since 1868, so far as available, will be found in Chap. III Sec. A for the general population, and in Chapter VI under the heads of the several large towns of the district. Table No. XII shows the number of insane, blind, deaf-mutes, and lepers as ascertained at the census of 1881; while Table No. XXXVIII shows the working of the dispensaries since 1877. During the latter part of October the range of temperature during the twenty-four hours is probably greater than in any other part of India, and causes great sickness. Cholera, when it does make its appearance, usually comes in autumn, though it has been known in the spring also. The following memorandum on the health of the district has been prepared by Dr. Bellew, C.S.I., who has resided in the district for many years:—

"The cause of the unhealthiness of the climate of Peshâwar is, I believe, to be found in the natural configuration of the country; and as this is irremediable, it precludes the hope of any material improvement in the salubrity of its climate being effected by means at our disposal, as I will now endeavour to explain. By the disposition of the rivers the area of the valley is divided into three distinct and well defined tracts, *viz.* (1) that between the Swât river and the Indus; (2) that between the Swât and Bâra rivers; and (3) that between the Bâra river and the hills forming the southern limits of the valley. The first of these tracts is high and dry, except along the western shore of the Indus and the border of the Swât river, and is generally open and well ventilated. It comprises the district of Yusafzai and Hashtnagar. The second, which forms the basin of the Kâbul river, is low and marshy, and imperfectly ventilated owing to the obstacle presented by the Khaibar and Mohmand hills. It comprises the districts of Doâba, Daudzai, and Khalîl. The third tract is high and dry, but very defectively ventilated owing to the course of the hills which terminate in a *cul-de-sac* at the Kohat Pass. It comprises the Mohmand district, and contains the city and cantonments of Peshâwar, which occupy the strip of high ground on the north of the Bâra river, and overlooking the hollow formed by the basin of the Kâbul river. It will thus be seen that the central of these three tracts is merely the basin for the reception and transmission of the whole of the drainage coming from the western highlands, that it lies at a much lower level than the tracts on either side, and that it is more or less marshy in much of its extent. These conditions are of themselves sufficient to render the locality unhealthy, but there are other circumstances which operate to increase the insalubrity of the valley. During the hot season, say from June to September, the rivers are in full flood owing to the melting of the snow on the hills they drain, and the periodical rains. The Indus consequently, comes down in a mighty stream which, at the narrow inexpansible rocky passage at Attock, becomes retarded and thrown back over the lowlands of Chach, and the Kâbul river which flows into it at right angles opposite Attock and a little above the narrow passage, itself greatly increased in volume from the same causes, is in turn thrown back upon itself, and would annually inundate the country on either side

Chapter I, B.

Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Disease.

but for the highness of its banks near the junction with the Indus. The arrest in the free onward flow of its waters, however, is not without effect further back in the course of the stream where the land lies lower, as in Doába and Daudzai. For here the detained waters are held as in reservoirs by loop channels formed by the Swát and Kábul rivers after debouching from the hills. Were it not for this natural provision the country in this part of the valley would be annually inundated during three or four months of the year, whilst, as it is, it is cut up into numerous islands and thoroughly saturated with moisture, so much so, that water in the wells rises to within a few feet of the surface, and in some localities spontaneously comes to the surface, producing marshy tracts of greater or less extent. Such is the normal condition of the central tract of the Peshâwar valley during the hot months. But when this season is over, and the rivers begin to subside about the end of September, then the whole surface of the saturated soil under the rays of a yet powerful sun, exhales a dense, steamy vapour perceptible to the unaided senses and known from its effects to be full of marsh poison or malaria; for at this time begins the endemic of the Peshâwar valley, an essentially marsh fever. If the autumn months be fine and dry, the season is always observed to be a healthy one, but on the contrary if it be a cloudy or rainy season, the reverse obtains. The explanation appears to be that when the weather is fair and the sky clear, the malaria rises and becomes dissipated, but under a cloudy sky and moisture-laden atmosphere it becomes more and more condensed and proportionally virulent; this is why the inhabitants of Doába and Daudzai are notoriously afflicted with spleen disease, and I have by weighing and measuring ascertained that they are physically inferior to the Khattaks and Yusafzais. Peshâwar city and cantonments are situated on the edge of the elevated tract bordering the low marsh lands of Daudzai, and are consequently fully exposed to the effects of the malaria rising from it. The only remedy is a short stay in the locality and frequent change."

SECTION B.—GEOLOGY, FAUNA AND FLORA.

Geology.

Our knowledge of Indian geology is as yet so general in its nature, and so little has been done in the Panjáb in the way of detailed geological investigation, that it is impossible to discuss the local geology of separate districts. But a sketch of the geology of the province as a whole has been most kindly furnished by Mr. Medlicott, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and is published *in extenso* in the provincial volume of the Gazetteer series, and also as a separate pamphlet. Such scanty local details as are available are given below.

Dr. Bellew thus describes the geology of the border hills—

Geology of the border hills.

"The geological formation of the hills bounding the Yusafzai plain is not well known owing to their inaccessibility. Some idea, however, of their structure and composition is derivable from an examination of the pebbles and boulders brought down in the ravines that drain their slopes, and the results of such lead to the conclusion that the hills bounding Yusafzai are all of primitive or metamorphic rocks; for the boulders washed down from their sides consist mostly of syenite and porphyry in a variety of forms, together with pebbles and fragments of quartz, primitive limestone, mica and clay slates, trap-rock in great variety, horneblende, feldspar and gneiss. These are only to be found in the beds of the ravines near their origin in the hills. The distant parts of the beds of these drains, as is naturally to

Geology of the border hills.

be expected, contain only sand and gravel. Of the hill spurs projecting into the plain, the majority consist of non-fossiliferous limestone, overlaid apparently by a friable grey or brown mica-slate. The strata in these spurs mostly lie from north-west to south-east, and dip to the north at varying angles in different localities, but everywhere very high, that is, between sixty and eighty-five degrees. Amongst the Panjpir ridges, some of the strata have quite a perpendicular direction.

"In the hills at Maneri, which are of limestone, there are veins of marble, mottled black, green, and yellow, or pure green and pure yellow. Similar veins exist in the Pajah hills. In both localities the rock is quarried by the natives and manufactured into marbles, rosary beads, amulets, charms, &c. At Navigram, the Ranigatt hill consists of compact granite. On its summit are the ruins of an extensive ancient Buddhist or Hindu city. The buildings are of massive structure, and constructed of great blocks of the rock accurately chiselled. Their excellent preservation, though they are probably not less than 1,500 years old, would lead to the belief that they had only lately left the masons' hands. At Shewah, the hill consists of amygdaloid trap, the layers of which rise in regular steps from beneath the Karamar hill, the base of which is slate and the summit limestone.

"The Malandarah hill is composed of gneiss. The rock is extensively quarried for the manufacture of millstones, which are distributed all over the district; the article being a household necessary. At Sháhbáz-garha, Garru and Sarpattai, the hills are of trap rock of very varying composition and structure; in some parts being firm and compact, in others loose and friable As a sample of the former kind, may be quoted the celebrated *lat* at Sháhbáz-garha, on which is an inscription, supposed to be one of those pillar edicts of Asoka, establishing Buddhism as the state religion of his kingdom, 250 B. C., and of which there are other examples in different parts of the peninsula. On the Sháhbáz-garha rocks, the inscriptions, though coated with lichens, are still in excellent preservation, and quite easily transcribable. Examples of the latter, or crumbling forms of trap, are abundant on the Garu and Sarpattai ranges. Their detritus forms the surface soil at the foot of these hills. The Pajah hill is limestone, and contains a splendid cave temple of the ancient Buddhists. Though now in a state of ruin, its interior abounds in the remains of former temples and other buildings. Lime is burnt on this hill. The Takht-Bahi hill is composed of grey micaceous schist or slate. On its summit are the ruins of an extensive Buddhist or Hindu city and idol temple, all built of the material of the hill. Of the hills on the northern or Swát border, I have not been able to obtain reliable information; beyond that in the Totai hills of Ranizai there are quarries of a fine, soft, blue slate. Slabs of it are used as tablets over the graves of Mahomedans. These quarries are probably the sources whence the ancient Buddhists and Hindus derived the material for the manufacture of the multitude of idols and temple decorations, &c., that at this day are found in such quantities in the many ruins of their former habitations in all parts of the district; for the stones compared together are of the same material exactly. From the above particulars it would appear that the hills around the Yusafzai plain are altogether formed of primitive or transition rocks. I have not met with a fossil derived from any one of them, nor can I hear of a fossil having ever been found in them. Though from their structure one would be led to expect the existence of the richer metallic ores, yet such are not known to have been met with. There is, nevertheless, a very popular belief that these hills contain untold treasures of gold, only they are hidden from mortal ken. The toils and labours of wandering devotees in search of these treasures have hitherto been in vain.

Chapter I, B.

Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Geology of the border hills.

"On the Baghoch hill, near Bagh, in Chinglai vale, and on the hill Lohach, above Pihur, are remains of some very extensive iron foundries. On both hills the surface, for many hundred yards, is covered with the ruins of old furnaces for the smelting of iron ore, and the ground in their neighbourhood is strewed with any quantity of slag and dross. Many of these masses appear still to contain some of the metal. Nothing is known locally as to the history of these furnaces; but, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the Buddhist and Hindu ruins of Ranigatt and Mount Banj, they are probably relics of the industry of those departed races. On a detached hill near Lundkhwar, the surface is covered with small cubes of iron pyrites; and on a hill some miles further north, near Shahkot, is a quarry for soapstone. It is indestructible in the fire, and is used as a blow hole for furnaces, and also as slabs for cooking bread upon. In the ravines about Lundkhwar are also found handsome pebbles of conglomerate and boulders of pudding stone, which, in the hands of the stone-cutter, might be converted into a variety of articles of ornament and utility."

The formation of the Khattak hills is of various limestones, often much contorted, and described as "ranging from a dark coloured, very "much indurated, silicious variety, to a calcareous flagstone, contain-"ing concretionary ferruginous nodules, which has been used for floor-"ing and roofing purposes." The dip is generally westerly at a high angle.

Geology of the plain country.

There are many points of remarkable interest in the geological formation of the valley of Peshâwar. Even to cursory observation it presents the appearance of having been, remote centuries ago, the bed of a vast lake, whose banks were formed by the surrounding Himálayas, and whose waters were fed by rivers that are now channelling through its former sub-aqueous bed. From whatever point of view you consider the valley, you are led to the conclusion that you are dwelling upon ridges and inequalities which in some remote era bottomed a large inland fresh-water sea. Its whole surface exhibits marked evidences of the mechanical efforts of currents, waves, rains, springs, streams, and rivers, which at one time were pent up, but which in process of time have created outlets through the weakest range of hills. Hills encircle it on every side except one, where the Kábul flows out to join the Indus; these, being metamorphic, are abrupt, irregular, and barren, and consist of metamorphic clay slate and mica schist, while those beyond, rising to the plateaux of Jalalábád and Kábul, present every variety of geological formation, becoming, as they recede, magnificent pine-covered mountains enclosing fertile and temperate valleys. The bed of the valley belongs to the post-tertiary or recent system, and presents the following evidences of having been the bed of a lake. The accumulations or alluvial deposit consist entirely of clay, silts, sand, gravel, and boulders. Here and there these silts are heaped up into small hills or ridges, the evidence of former sub-aqueous currents, giving the southern part of the valley an irregular configuration. Clay cliffs, or bluffs, worn away by the numerous watercourses, exhibit in every instance a stratified arrangement, consisting of a base of large water-worn boulders or rock, with shingle, gravel, sand, clay, and alluvial soil superimposed. Throughout the whole valley, its surface is studded with water-worn shingle or boulder. Numerous fresh-water shells are everywhere found belonging to the genus *Planorbis* and *Helix*.

The whole drainage appears to have taken place at Attock where the Indus, after receiving the Kábul, has eroded for itself a passage through the Khattak hills—a narrow rocky channel, through which an enormous body of water is continually flowing with a velocity of 5 to 13 miles an hour. It is easy to imagine that the waters have a height commensurate with the depth and breadth of the outlet at Attock, and that the drainage proceeded by slow and gradual steps as the water eroded the hard rock. Even within late years this channel has been insufficient to carry off rapidly enough the enormous body of water, and the Kábul and Indus have risen, inundating large approximate tracts of land, and even the new station of Nowshera formed upon its banks. Volcanic agency has also been at work in producing changes. During the present century the Indus is said to have been diverted from its course, and a considerable hill elevated above the plains, causing the inundation of a large district. Beyond this there does not appear to be any evidence or history of volcanic disturbance, although yearly shocks of earthquakes are of frequent occurrence. During the past years these have been remarkably frequent and more violent than usual, seeming to be the waves transmitted from subterranean activity at some distance. No less than five or six shocks have passed simultaneously, or following closely the date of reported disturbance in other countries. The valley has thus in all probability passed through slow and successive changes—at first a large lake; then, as the level decreased, a vast tropical marsh, the resort of numerous wild animals such as the rhinoceros and tiger, and rank with reeds, rushes and conifera. Still later as the Kábul deepened its channel, its present formation gradually arrived, a silted bed of *debris* filling up the bed of a valley basin; and one may reason that in process of time, as the mouth of the basin gets worn down, its present marshy surface water will altogether recede, leaving a dry bed traversed only by deeply cut watercourses and large rivers. As may be expected, an immense amount of drainage is collected below the level of the soil from the melting snow and surrounding water-shed. The level of this water varies considerably as it is influenced by storms, amount of snow-fall, and height of the rivers. In the hot weather, when the water is pouring down in all directions, tearing up the dry beds of watercourses, the level is high and the marshy land is covered, and springs of cold water spring up. A similar opinion has been expressed by many well-known authorities. Dr. Lord's remarks have already been quoted at pages 15, 16.

Geology of the plain country.

A more detailed account of the geological formation of the Yusáfzai plain is here extracted from pp. 29—31 of Dr. Bellew's *Yusafzai*: —

Geology of the Yusafzai plain.

"The plain itself consists of a fine alluvial deposit, the composition and depth of which varies in different localities and at different distances from the surface. In most parts of the plain the soil is light and porous, and contains more or less sand to a depth of from four to twenty feet. Below this the sandy admixture is much less, or even entirely absent; its place being taken by clay, either soft or indurated, and often combined with beds of nodular limestone or *kankar*. This formation may extend to

Chapter I, B.

Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Geology of the Yusafzai plain.

a depth of from four to sixteen feet or more, and is succeeded by beds of gravel and sand of unknown thickness. This last stratum contains the sub-soil drainage, and is the source of water-supply in wells. Into it sink and disappear all the springs that flow down from the hills into the ravines at their skirts. The above particulars are the results of an examination of artificial wells and the cuttings of natural watercourses. It is unnecessary here to describe the surface soil in the different portions of the district; but it may be noted that the cultivated tracts consist of a rich, light, and porous soil, composed of a pretty even mixture of clay and sand. Where the former prevails in excess, the surface is either low and marshy and abounding in reeds and rank grasses, or else it is elevated, dry, hard, and fissured, and for the most part barren, but supporting a mean growth of hardy, stunted, and thorny bushes. In some parts, the borders of such tracts are covered with a saline efflorescence. When the later constituent of the general surface soil or sand prevails in excess, the surface is either entirely barren, with a loose, unsteady soil, or else supports a scanty vegetation in small detached and scattered tufts. Examples of the former class of soils are to be found in the marshy tracts in the east of the Chalpani ravine, and in the wild desert tracts of the Hashtnagar and Khattak *mairás*. The later class of soils is mainly confined to the tracts on the river's banks. The country skirting the base of the hills, and in some parts extending some distance on to the plain, is more or less covered with coarse gravel, broken stones, or boulders of various mineral character in the different localities. Thus, for example, in the Lundkhwar district, the surface near the hills is a strong bed of limestone pebbles, mixed with boulders of conglomerate. In the Saldhum district, feldspar grit predominates. At Maneri and the adjacent hill-skirts coarse fragments of quartz and limestone cover the surface, and contain also a sprinkling of micaceous schist. Onwards from this to the Indus, along the skirts of the Mahában range, the surface is characterized by a variety of forms of trap and conglomerate, mixed with limestone, marble, and various combinations of mica and feldspar. The existence of these boulders far across from the present course of the river, with the fact of their identical character with those in the bed of the river, lead to the conclusion, no obstacles intervening, that they were brought down and deposited in their present sites in ages past by the Indus river itself, which, in this part of its course, must have assumed a lake formation."

Mineral products.

Besides gold, *kankar* is the only mineral product of any improtance found in the district itself, though the surrounding hills are productive certainly of iron and antimony, and it may be of other metals. The iron of Bajar, brought for sale in the Pesháwar market, is of fine quality, and is used in the manufacture of gun-barrels. Very good antimony ore is also brought from Bajar, and sells in Pesháwar for about Rs. 12 per maund. A yellow marble (called *sung-i-shah-maksúd*,) is found near Maneri in Yusafzai, and is used for the manufacture of beads, charms, and ornaments. Crude chalk is found in Lundkhwar. Millstones are brought from Pallodheri in Yusafzai, and fetch Re. 1 per pair. The resources of the hills of Swát and Bunér are dealt with in a passage already quoted from Dr. Bellew.

Gold.

In both the Indus (above Attock) and the Kábul rivers, auriferous deposits are found, though not extensively. Some of the boat-

men, during the cold weather, work as gold-washers in gangs of from 5 to 7. They use large wooden trays 6 feet in length, and sieves. No tax is taken from them now, but under the Sikhs one-fourth of the proceeds was paid to the Kárdár, whose license was necessary before they plied their trade. In some places a tax was taken of 2 rupees per tray; and the proprietors of the soil received another rupee. About 300 men may be thus annually employed; and it is not unusual for them to receive advances for the work from the gold purchasers at Pesháwar. These deposits indicate the presence of gold in the hills, but the latter are beyond our reach. The figures in the margin show the villages and the number of trays in each village at present employed in gold-washing. The work is carried on during March, April, September and October: each tray employs about seven men and yields on an average ten tolas of gold. The owner of the tray is entitled to purchase the gold at Rs. 2 less per tola than the price obtainable in Pesháwar. The average income of the washers is between 4 annas and 2 annas per diem. The price of gold in Pesháwar varies; the first class fetches Rs. 17, average Rs. 15, and inferior, Rs. 14 per tola. The gold found by washing in the Indus is inferior, and sells in Pesháwar at Rs. 14 per tola. The proprietors of the villages within whose boundaries gold washing is carried on take a small share, in recognition of their right. No tax was levied by the British Government during the Summary Settlement, and the exemption has been continued for the term of the present Settlement.

Name of the village.	Number of trays.
Kvárá ...	5
Bára ...	4
Topi ...	14
Gullah ...	4
Puntiya ...	2
Patagra ...	2
Zarobi ...	4
Gar Munarah	4
Hind ...	4
Total ...	43

Flora of the district.

The distribution of trees is singularly uneven in different parts of the valley. In Yusafzai and Hashtnagar the mulberry (*tút*) *sissu* (*shiwa*) and *melia sempervirens*, with occasionally the tamarisk (*gaz*) are found in clumps round the village wells; and here and there groves of the *acacia modesta* (*pulosa*) are found covering village grave-yards, whilst the waste-lands support a bare and stunted jungle of the *butea frondosa*, different species of zizyphus, *capparis aphylla* and other thorny bushes; but otherwise the tract is bare of trees. In Daudzai and Doaba, on the other hand, where the land lies low, and the cultivation is entirely irrigated, trees are abundant, particularly the tamarisk and in some parts the *siras*. In these districts, too, are numerous fruit gardens and orchards, especially in the western suburbs of Pesháwar city, where the vine, fig, plum, apricot, peach, and quince, with cucumbers, melons, and other vegetables, are produced in great plenty. Pesháwar was by its early European visitors (from Elphinstone up to our conquest of the Punjáb) much lauded for its fruits, but perhaps unduly, as almost the only kinds now cared for by Europeans are grapes and peaches, both of which are in their season (June, July) plentiful and excellent. Quinces, pomegranates, plums, figs and various members of the orange family also thrive well, and in gardens the ordinary vegetables of the North-Western Provinces succeed, together with most of those of Europe that have been introduced into other parts of the plains of India.

Chapter I, B. Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Flora of the district.

Potatoes have in some years thriven, but only exceptionally.* Dr. Bellew's description of the flora of Yusafzai is here extracted :—

"The varieties of climate noted in the preceding pages have their due influence on the flora and fauna of the several tracts to which they are more definitely confined. Thus, on the Yusafzai plain, the vegetation, scanty and poor as it is, is characterised by plants common to the tropical rather than to the temperate climate; for, in the mixture of both kinds, the former appear to be the most numerous. Of the common plants met with on the uncultivated wastes, where they are exposed to excessive heats and droughts, and are dependent for subsistence on a hard, arid soil, often of a saline nature, the following are the most noteworthy :—

Vegetation of the Yusafzai plain.

English Name.	Botanical Name.	Pashtu Name.
Wild rue	Peganum harmala	Spailanai.
Muddar	Asclepias Gigantea	Spalmai.
Jujube tree	Zizyphus sp.	Bairra.
Camels' thorn	Hedysarum alhagi	Zôz.
Tamarisk	Tamarix orientalis	Ghwhaz.
Glasswort	Salsola kali	Khorakhai.
Glasswort	Salsolaceæ	Zmai.
Glasswort	Sal olaceæ	Lâuâ.
Sensitive mimosa	Mimosa sensitiva	Zhand.
Gum acacia	Acacia modesta	Palosa.
Absinth sp.	Artemisia sp.	Mastiara.
Wormwood	Artemisia sp.	Tarkha.
Fleawort	Plantago sp (3)	Spighol.
Prophet flower	Arnebia echioides	Sulaimani gul. Paighambari gul.
Leafless caper	Caparis aphylla	Kirrarra.
Lac gum tree	Butea frondosa	Palai.
Figwort sp.	Scrophularia sp.	Parharbut.
Sage sp.	Labiata sp.	Khardag.
Clustered fig	Ficus racemosa	Gular.
Wild Colocynth	Citrullus sp. (2)	Maraghuni.
Caltrops, common	Tribulis terristris	Mâlkundai.
Malcomia sp.	Malcomia sp (3)	Kharor.
Wild chamomile	Anthemis sp. (2)	Krichi.
Common spurge	Euphorbia sp.	Zaghâgha.
Mallow sp.	Malvia sp.	Panirak.
Mallow sp.	Althea sp.	Sonchal.
Fumitory, common	Fumaria officin	Pâpra.
Fenugreek	Trigonella sp.	Malkhozai.
Trefoil sp	Trifolium sp.	Pashtarai.
Purslane	Portulaca sp.	Warkhârai.
Calendula, common	Kalendula officin	Ziarguli.
Wild safflower	Karthamus sp.	Kâriza.
Common vervain	Verbena officin	Shamuki.
Thorn apple	Datura fastuosa	Toradana.
Common cleavers	Chenopodium sp.	Bushkha.
Trefoil sp.	Trifolium sp.	Spaishtai.
Indian hemp	Cannabis indica	Bang.
Common dock	Rumex sp.	Shalkhai.
Variegated tulip	Tulipa sp	Ghântol.
Wild rape	Sinapis sp	Joâwân.
Wild mustard	Sinapis sp.	Aorai.

"The trees commonly met with on the plain about the villages, near water-courses, and around irrigation wells, are the following : *viz.*, the date palm (*khajúr*), the mulberry (*túl*), the *sissu* (*shiwa*), the *melia sempervirens* (*dreg*, or *bukain*), the willow (*walai*). Of these the first and last are much less common than the others.

"On the low hills bounding the plain, and on the spurs projecting on to it from them, the more common trees are the following :—

* M'Gregor.

Trees of the lower hills.

English Name.	Botanical Name.	Pashtu Name.
Malabar nut	Adhadota vasica	Bahaikar.
Straight randia	Randia stricta	Gandaichar.
Oleander	Nerium odorum	Gandairai.
Persian Salvadore	Salvadora Persica	Plaiwan
Bog Myrtle	Dodonæa Burman	Ghoráskai.
Bignonia sp.	Tecoma unduiata	Raibdun, or Raidswân.
Reptonia sp.	R. buxifola	Gurgura.
Olive, common	Olea sp (2)	Khoan.
Leafless periploca	P. aphylla	Barrarra.
Travellers' joy	Clematis orient	Praiwaiai.
Wild indigo	Indigofera sp.	Ghwaraiza.
Edible celastrus	C. edulis	Karko.
Carounda	Carissa sp. (2)	Grûnda.
Spiny carrisa	C. spinarum	Surazghai.
Thorny astragalus	Astragalus sp.	Spinazghai, or Paishkand.
Purging cassia	Cassia fistula	Lândais.
Asparagus sp.	Asparagus officinalis	Mârchob
Asparagus sp.	Asparagus sp.	Raizakai.
Withiana sp.	Withiana coagulans	Shâprânga.
Withiana sp.	W. somniferum	Kutilâl.
Castor oil tree	Ricinus sp.	Arhand.
Chaste tree	Vitex negunda	Marwandai.
Staff tree (?)	Catha sp.	Mumânri.
Peppermint	Mentha sp.	Wailanai.
Myrabolan sp.	Emblica sp.	Khadang.
Dyers' rottlera	R. tinctoria	Kâmbaila.
Thorny shrub	Red berry	Ilanai.
Poplar sp.	Populus sp.	Tâgha.
Silk cotton tree	Bombax sp	Badarkand.
Jasmine sp.	Jasmium sp.	Râchâmbail.
Asiatic grewia	G. Asiatica	Pastaoni or Shikarimaiwah.
Sebesten tree	Cordia sp.	Lashora
Dyer's wood	Granatum sp.	Dâtki.
Mountain ebony .. m	Bauhinia sp.	Kohliar.
Banyan tree	Ficus Indica	Bargat.
Large-leaved fig	F. glomerata	Ormul.
Moonseed sp.	Cocculus sp.	Chinjanwali.
Bael fruit tree	Ægle marmelos	Balâghund.
Acacia sp.	A. Arabica	Kikor.
Climbing mimosa	M. scandens	Kulmawali.
Cowitch	Mucuna pruriens	Surpalai
Box-leaved ehretia	E. buxifolia	Shamshâd.
Embelia sp.	E. ribes	Bâbrang.
Pomegranate	Granatum sp.	Anâr
Myrobalan sp.	M. sp.	Bahairar.
Myrobalan sp.	Emblica officin	Awlâ.
Myrobalan sp.	Teminalia sp	Haraira.
Grisles downy (?)	G. tomentosa (?)	Dâtki.

"Most of the plants above-mentioned are more or less generally distributed on the lower hills throughout the Yusafzai country. Some others are confined to special tracts, as the cypress (*sarwai*) to Dir; the dwarf palm, a species of *chamœrops* (*maizarri*) to the Ránizai country; the horse chesnut (*banj*) to the hill tract east of Buner, &c., &c. In Swát and the valleys to its north and west are found the plane (*chinar*), the white poplar (*spaidar*), the *ziarris* (*srik*), the mulberry (*tút*), &c., &c.; also the ash (*shâwai*) and alder (*ziarra*), &c. The two last named also grow in Buner and the country to its eastward. In the Malizai country, and that of the Turkilánis, besides the above-named, are found both wild and cultivated, the grape vine (*kwár*), the plum (*alúcha* and *kishtai*), the peach (*shaftalu*), the apricot (*khubáni*), the quince (*tángwán*), the apple (*maruza*), the pear (*naspáti*), the wild plum (*mánru*), the lime (*nimbu*) &c.

"The following trees also are mentioned as growing on the higher hills, more or less generally, throughout the country:—

Chapter I, B.

Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Flora of the district.

Trees of the higher hills.

English Name.	Botanical Name.	Pushtu Name.
Long-leaved pine	P. longifolia	Nakhtar.
Edible pine	P. Webbiana	Zalghozai.
Pine sp.	P. sp. or Abies sp.	Pihuch.
Larch sp. (?)	Larix sp.	Surûp.
Deodar	Cedrus deodara	Diâr.
Wild grape vine	Vitis vinifera	Kwar.
Horse chesnut	Castanea Indica	Banj.
Mountain ash	Fraxinus sp.	Shwâai.
Alder sp.	Alnus sp.	Girra.
Date plum	Diospyros sp.	Amluk.
Walnut	Juglans sp	Ghoz, or Akor.
Wild almond	Amygdalus sp.	Bâdâm.
Common aloe	Prunus spinosa	Mânrû
Lotus tree	Zizyphus sp.	Makhranai.
Barberry	Berberis sp. (?)	Korai and Karoski.
Blackberry	Rubus vulgaris	Karwara.
Raspberry	R. sp.	Achu
Bramble	R. sp.	Gorach
Bilberry	R sp.	Baganna.
Pœony	Pœonia sp. (?)	Nâmaikh.
Arum	Arum sp.	Nuralam.
Common fig	Ficus sp.	Inzar
Yew	Taxus baccata	Kharoa.

"The above list comprises the more common of the plants growing on the higher hills, whose names I have been able to ascertain. There are many others whose names even are unknown to the people of the country, though some of them are used as pot-herbs or domestic medicines by the mountaineers in whose vicinity they grow."

Wild animals and game found in the district.

Pesháwar is perhaps one of the worst districts in India as regards sport, owing to the hawking, the use of fire arms by all classes, and the absence of forest and scrub. There are a few ravine deer in the Yusafzai and Hashtnagar plains and also under the Khattak hills on the south-east. Pig abound in the Khattak hills, a few *uriál* (wild sheep) and a stray panther are now and then heard of. On the Pajja hill, which separates the Sadhum valley from *tappa* Baezai, there are *márkhor* (wild goat), but they are getting more and more scarce every year, and the ground is such that only good cragsmen can successfully follow them. The small game consists of a few hare and partridges still left in parts of the valley. *Chakor* and *sissi* are plentiful in, and close under the hills, where the people cannot use their hawks. In the spring (April) and autumn (September) large flights of *quail* settle down and remain for a short time on their way down country, and when returning to the steppes of Central Asia. There are many thousands netted by men who make a trade of it; they are collected in one place by means of tame quail used as call-birds (*buláras*). Water fowl are plentiful on the rivers during the winter months, and snipe also for two or three weeks in March. Wild swans are *very* occasionally shot. In Yusafzai, Nowshera, and under the hills all round the district during the winter months, flocks of sandgrouse are to be seen, but they are shy, and the only way of shooting them is by driving them. The *obara*, or bastard bustard is also found during the winter months, on the *mairá* lands; they are usually hawked and often noosed by the natives. The wolves and hyænas

Wild animals and game found in the district.

are less numerous than they used to be, and they rarely attack children or other human beings. Foxes and jackals are also scarcer than they were a few years ago. The panther has now almost disappeared from the district. During the past five years rewards to the amount of Rs. 541 have been paid for the destruction of 19 leopards, 106 wolves, and 67 snakes.

Very large fish (*mahshér* and *rahu*) are caught by the natives in the rivers with hook and line, and the fly and minnow would give good sport. Otters have been seen on the islands of the Indus, and in the Nagomán.

Dr. Bellew has given a detailed description of the fauna of Yusafzai which is extracted as follows:—

"The fauna of the Yusafzai country has also, like the flora, a special distribution in the different tracts of country. Thus in the plain and valleys the more common species met with are the following:—

Fauna of Yusafzai.

English Name.	Latin Name.	Pashtu Name.
Wolf	Canis lupus	Sharmukh.
Jackal	C. jacalus	Gidarr.
Fox	C. vulpes	Lûmbarr.
Hyæna	Hyæna vulgaris	Kog. sartíta.
Wild cat	Felis lynx	Parâpush.
Mungoose	Mangusta sp	Naolai.
Rat and mouse	Mus sp. (5 or 6)	Magakh.
Grave-digger	Viverra sp.	Gorkhakh.
Otter	Lutra potamophil	Sangláo.
Porcupine	Hystrix cristata	Shkanr.
Hedgehog	Echinus sp.	Shishkai.
Pangolin	Manis pentadact	Kishor.
Ravine deer	Antelope gazella	Osai.
Hare	Lepus sp.	Soya.
Vulture, dusky	V. cinereus	Gargass.
V. Egyptian	V. sp.	Gaujai.
Common kite	Milvus sp.	Tapus.
Common harrier	Circus sp	Hâd-khor.
Harrier	Circus sp.	Shaindai.
Owl, desert	Strix otus	Gucgai
Owl, barn	Strix sp.	Goátki.
King-fisher	Alcedo sp.	Mahikhorak.
Common tern	Sterna sp. (2)	Bâbozai.
Mina, common	Eulabes Indicus	Tutkhoraka.
Water wagtails	Motacilla sp. (2)	Spinak; ziarak.
Sparrows	Fringilla sp. (2)	Chanchanr.
Hoopoe	Eupapa epops	Mulla Chargak.
Starlings	Sturnus vulgris	
Raven or crow	Corvus corax	Kâgha.
Jay	Garrulus cyanoco rax	Sarkhakha.
Larks	Alauda sp.	Kharâra.
Rooks	Corvus frugilegus	Kargha.
Sandgrouse	Tetrao sp (3)	Khrai kâotar.
Quail	Coturnix sp,	Mraz.
Partridge	Perdix sp (2)	Tanzirai.
Francolin	Francolinus sp.	Zarka.
Sisai	F. sp.	Sisai.
Pigeons	Columba sp. (3)	Kâotar.
Bustard, ohara	Otis houbara	Kharmor.
Bustard, little	Otis tetrax	Sâri
Common peewit	Vanellus sp.	Tittâri.
Koulan	Ardea Koulan	Kulang.
Black crane	Ardea sp.	Ding.
Snipe	Scolopax sp. (2)	Karak.
Sandpipers	Calidris sp. (4)	Tamtil and Kablai.
Common coot	Gallinula sp.	
Wild duck	Anas sp. (10 or 12)	Ilai.
Tortoise	Testudo Indica	Shamshatai.
Iguanas	Iguana sp.	Ghârandûni.
Thick-tailed lizard	Eophimotes sp.	Samsarai.
Snakes, various	Anguis sp. (8 or 10)	Mar.
Frogs and toads	Batrachus sp.	Chindakha.

Chapter I, B.

Geology, Fauna and Flora.

Wild animals and game found in the district.

"To the hill tracts are confined the following :—

Fauna of the hills.

English Name.	Latin Name	Pashtu Name
Ibex	Capra ibex	Markhor.
Wild goat	C. sp.	Gharsa.
Wild sheep	Ovis sp.	Daghra gada.
Chamois	Ibex sp.	Zba Sârânai.
Leopard	Felix leopardus	Boârgai
Tiger	Felis tigris	Zmarai.
Bears	Ursus sp (2)	Mailu.
Monkeys	Cercopithicus	Shâdu
Barking deer	Moschus sp.	Ghawara.
Tree marten	Mustela sp	
Wild pigs	Sus scropha	Sarkuzai.
Peregrine falcon	Falco comm.	Bâz.
Merlin	F. asalon	Charagh
Golden eagle	Acquila sp.	Uâtur
Pheasants	Phasianus sp.	Munal, Mor.
Parrots	Psittacus sp.	Toti
Magpies	Pica sp.	Shâm.

"Besides the above, there are a number of other species, especially of the feathered tribes, such as of *accipitres*, falcons, hawks, harriers, &c. ; of *passerinæ*, flycatchers, orioles, thrushes, *minas*, chats, swallows, larks, tits, finches, &c. ; of *scansores*, there are no common species ; of the *gallinæ* there are the sandgrouse, partridge, francoline, quail and pigeon families ; of the *gralla*, there are bustards, plovers, cranes, herons, snipes, sandpipers, and coots ; of the *palmipedæ* there are terns of two kinds ; the swan is sometimes seen on the Swát and Panjkora rivers ; geese are plentiful, and ducks in great variety, during the cold weather. Reptiles, such as lizards in great variety, and iguanas, as also eight or ten kinds of snakes, are common all over the country. The black-hooded cobra is common on the plain ; I have obtained specimens of six other kinds. Two of these possess poison fangs ; one is barred with black and white rings in alternate succession ; the other is brindled with yellow, green, and brown patches. Both are small varieties, have capacious square jaws, and are undoubtedly poisonous."

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

The ancient Hindu name for the Pesháwar valley appears to have been Gandhára. This name is said to be derived from that of one of the patriarchs of Aryan colonization in India, an early occupant of this district. He was a descendant of Druhya, fourth son of Yáyati, the founder of the *Chandravans*, or Lunar race.* This name of Gandhára figures in Sanscrit literature from the earliest times; and is employed by the Chinese pilgrims of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era. Strabo, too, describes a tract which he calls Gandaritis, as lying along the river Kophes (Kábul) between the Choaspes and the Indus, a position which exactly corresponds with that of the Pesháwar valley. In the same position Ptolemy places the Gandaræ, whose country he describes as including both banks of the Kophes immediately above its junction with the Indus.† Arrian, on the other hand, speaks of the people who held the valley against Alexander under the name of Asaceni. The ancient capital of the district was Pushkalavati, a city said to have been founded by Pushkara, the son of Bhárata,‡ from which is evidently derived the Greek Peukelas, Peukelaotis, or Peucolaitis. According to Arrian, the historian of Alexander's expedition, Peukelas was a large and populous city,§ the capital of a chief named Astes,‖ who was killed in the defence of one of his strongholds after a prolonged siege by Hephaistion. Upon the death of Astes the city of Peukelaotis was surrendered. The position of the city is vaguely described by Arrian and Strabo as "near the Indus;" but the geographer Ptolemy fixes it upon the eastern bank of the Suastene or Swát. With this position agrees the itinerary of the pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who, on quitting Parashawar (see below) travelled towards the north-east for 100 *li* or 16⅔ miles, and after crossing a great river reached the town of *Pu-se-kia-lo-fa-ti* which, transliterated into Sanscrit, is precisely Pushkalavati. The river mentioned is evidently the Kábul; and the bearing and distance from Pesháwar point to the twin towns of Chársada and Práng. These villages situated on the left bank of the Swát, a short distance above its junction with the Kábul, are two of the settlements forming the well-known Hashtnagar, or "eight cities." The other villages are: Tangi, Sherpao, Umarzai, Tarangzai, Utmánzai, and Rajar. Chársada and Práng, the most eastern of the eight settlements, are seated close together in a bend of the river, and might originally have been portions of one large town. Rajar lies about two miles to the north-east, and on a mound above it are the ruins of a fort (Hisár). "All the suburbs," says General Court,

* General Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol ii, p. 15.
† Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, i. p. 47.
‡ Vishnu Purana. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* i, p. 49.
§ 'Indica,' 1. ‖ Anabasis, iv, 22.

Chapter II. History. Ancient History.

"are scattered over with vast ruins." On these facts General Cunningham thinks it not improbable that the modern name of Hashtnagar may be only a slight alteration of the old name of *Hastinagara* or "city of Hasti," which might have been applied to the capital of Astes, the prince of Peukelaotis.

He writes: "It was a common practice of the Greeks to call the Indian rulers by the names of their cities, as Taxiles, Assacanus, and others. It was also a prevailing custom amongst Indian princes to designate any additions or alterations made to their capitals by their own names. Of this last custom we have a notable instance in the famous city of Delhi, which, besides its ancient appellations of *Indraprastha* and *Dilli*, was also known by the names of its successive aggrandizers as Kot-Pithora, Kila Alai, Tughlakábád, Ferozábád and Sháhjahánábád. It is true that the people refer the name of Hashtnagar to the "eight towns" now seated close together on the lower course of the Swát, but it seems probable that the wish was father to the thought, and that the original name of Hastinagar, or whatever it may have been, was slightly twisted to Hashtnagar, to give it a plausible meaning among a Persianized Muhammadan population, to whom the Sanscrit Hastinagara was unintelligible."*

In later times Pushkalavati was famous for a large *stupa* erected on the spot where Buddha was said to have made an alms-offering of his eyes; and on this account was duly visited by the Chinese pilgrims of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries of our era. It had at this time, however, been superseded as political capital of Gandhára by Parashawara or Pesháwar. This name first occurs in the writings of Fa Hian who visited Gandhára in A. D. 400, under the form of *Folu-sha* transliterated by General Cunningham *Parasha*. Sung-Yun who following the footsteps of Fa Hian in A. D. 520 visited the district of Gandhára, does not give the name of the principal city. By Hwen Thsang (A. D. 640) the name is spelt *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo*, transliterated by General Cunningham *Parasháwara*. Masudi and Abu Rihan, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Babar in the sixteenth, all have the form Parsháwar. A local historian and renowned saint of Buner, Akhund Darwaiza, who also flourished in the sixteenth century, writes the name Purshor, the spelling being the same as that of Parsháwar, with the omission only of the *long a*. In this, therefore, we have the ancient form of the name, which is probably to be traced to the Hindu *Páras*, the termination *áwar* being the same as that which occurs in another form in the names of Lahore (Loháwar), Kasúr (Kasháwar), and many other towns of northern India. The present form of *Pesháwar*. is referred to the Emperor Akbar, whose fondness for innovation is said to have led him to change the ancient *Parasháwara*, of which he did not know the meaning, to *Pesháwar* or the "Frontier-town." Abul Fazl (in the Ayin Akbari) gives both names. But Abu Rihan, the Arab geographer of the tenth century, and Babar, all call it Parashawar. No Pathán ever calls it Pesháwar. The Akhund interprets the name as full of turbulence; certainly characteristic of the country for some ages past. But, unfortunately, the name is of too old a date to render his interpretation, or the Pathán pronunciation, of any value in the

* An analogous fate, as will be hereafter shown, has overtaken Parashawara, the ancient form of the modern Peshawar.

enquiry, further than establishing the fact of the letter *r* being found in the first syllable. Another tradition, giving it a Hindu origin, is far more probable, by which it is supposed to have been called after a king named Purrus or Purrush; and the late Sir Henry Elliot in his Index observes that the Chinese divide the first syllable into Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purrusha. It seems, therefore, most reasonable to conclude that the name is simply the seat of Purrus or Porus, the name of a king or family of kings: and that similarly Lahâwar was the seat of Leh or Lah.

Early inhabitants.

There are no authentic records of the tribes seated about Peshâwar before the time of Mahmúd, beyond the established fact of their being of Indian origin: it is not an improbable conjecture that they were descended from the race of Yadu, who were either expelled or voluntarily emigrated from Gujrat, 1,100 years before Christ, and who are afterwards found at Kandahar and the hills of Kábul, from whom, indeed, some would derive the Jadúns now residing in the hills north of Yusafzai, and occupying a considerable portion of the Hazára district. What little is heard of them before the period of authentic history leads to the belief that they were a bold and independent race; they are found opposing the advance of a Persian army sent to demand the tribute formerly conceded by the princes of Hindustan, but withheld by Sinkol, then Emperor of the country six centuries before our era. On this occasion the Persians are said to have been repulsed, but to have returned in greater force, and finally to have caused all the provinces upon the Indus to be ceded to them. The hill tribes, however, continued their independence, and we find them descending in the 5th century B. C. to prevent a Rájpút sovereign of Hindustan from establishing himself on the Indus, whose name was Keda Raja, contemporary with Hystaspes, father of Darius. We next hear of them opposing the renowned Macedonian conqueror on his advance against Porus, the fourth successor of the above Keda Raja.

Alexander's invasion.

One of his armies, according to Arrian, went by the direct route through Peshâwar; the other one was commanded by Alexander in person, and marched through Kunar, Bajaur, Swát and Buner.

About 20 years after the death of Alexander, Seleucus, finding himself master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, endeavoured to recover those beyond the latter river, from which the Greeks had been expelled B. C. 316 by Chandra Gupta (better known by us as Sandrocotta) who had established himself in them. Seleucus passed the Indus with this object B. C. 303, but made a treaty with his opponent, to whom he yielded the allegiance of all the provinces east of the Indus, together with the Peshâwar and Kábul valleys, Chandra Gupta furnishing him in return with 500 elephants.

Buddhism in Peshâwar.

Chandra Gupta and his Indian subjects were Buddhists, and the reign of his grandson, Asoka, who succeeded to the empire B. C. 263, is celebrated for his extension of that faith to Kábul and Kashmir. In this reign were published those rock edicts in favour of Buddhism, which are to be met with in many parts of the country. One of them is still standing in the vicinity of Shâhbázgarha in Yusafzai; though its characters are now to be

Chapter II.

History.

Buddhism in Peshâwar.

traced with difficulty after a lapse of more than 2,000 years. It was published by Asoka in the 10th or 12th year of his reign, and the inscription names as his contemporaries Antiochus II, who flourished from 262 to 247 B. C.; Ptolemy II, from 285 to 246; Antigonus, from 276 to 243; and Magus. And now the Englishman and the Afghan gaze together on this strange vestige of bygone times, upon which, in mystic characters, the names of Alexander's successors were inscribed as his contemporaries by an Indian king! As in similar edicts found elsewhere, great tenderness is expressed for animal life, in accordance with the tenets of Buddhism. Shortly afterwards, in 241 B. C., a great propagandizer of that faith, Majjhantiko, was deputed to Peshâwar, where he ordained many priests. The last named dynasty was overthrown by Pushpamitra, who was instigated by Bráhmin priests to persecute the Buddhists massacring the monks.

B. C. 165. Revival of Brahminism.

B. C. 148. Reappearance of the Greeks.

At this time, however, B. C. 165, Greeks re-appeared on the Indus under Menander, king of Bactria, whose successor, Eucratides, B. C. 148, annexed to his kingdom the valleys of Kábul and Peshâwar, with a part of the Punjáb and Sindh. Half a century later (B. C. 80) Khorasan, Afghánistán, Sindh and the Punjáb were united under a King of the Sakos or Sacæ Scythian. Other tribes of this nation followed, but Indian princes of Lahore and Delh, reconquered their trans-Indus possessions of Kábul, Peshâwari &c., which they retained till about the end of the 7th century of our era.

B. C 80. Scythian dynasty.

Indian princes retake Kábul and Peshâwar.

Fa Hian, Hwen Thsang, and Sung Yun, Chinese pilgrims, A. D. 500 and 700.

Fa Hian, a Chinese pilgrim, visited the country in the fifth century, and was followed, a couple of centuries later, by Hwen Thsang. During the visit of the former Buddhism was the dominant religion, but was falling into decay during the visit of the latter. From the diary of Sung Yun who visited Peshâwar in A. D. 520, we learn that at that date the King of Gandhára was at war with the King of Kipin or Kophene, that is of Kábul, Ghazni, and the surrounding districts. A century later, at the period of Hwen Thsang's visit (A. D. 630), the royal family had become extinct, and Gandhára was a dependency of Kapisa or Kábul. Peshâwar (Parashawara) itself, however, was still a great city of 40 *li*, or 6⅔ miles in extent, and the district of Gandhára, of which it was the political centre, is described as extending 1,000 *li*, or 166 miles, from east to west, and 800 *li*, or 133 miles, from north to south. Its boundaries, as deduced from these measurements, must have included in addition to the valley of Peshâwar proper, the Khaibar hills as far as Jalálábád and Laghman on the west, and the modern districts of Kohát and Bannu as far as Kalabágh upon the south.*

Antiquities.

It may be imagined from the early history of the district which has thus been sketched, that the antiquities of this stronghold of Punjáb Buddhism are of peculiar interest and importance. They have been fully described and discussed by General Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pages 47 to 81) and in his *Archæological Survey Reports* (II. p. 87-110; V, p. 1-66). A short notice of the principal objects of antiquarian interest in the city of

* Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, 1, p. 48.

Pesháwar itself will be found in Chapter VI, and it will be sufficient here to mention briefly the principal places in the district, or on its border, where valuable antiquarian remains exist. The majority are situate in the Yusafzai sub-division.

(1) The Ranigatt or Navigram ruins occupy a hill about 1,200 feet high, situated to the N. E. of the sub-division in independent territory, about 11 or 12 miles to the north of Swábi. General Cunningham is of opinion that the position of this place tallies much better with the vague descriptions of Aornos that have come down to us, than any other position with which he is acquainted. (Arch. Sur. II, 97-111; V, 55-57. Anc. Geog. 58-78.)

(2) The Jamál-garhi ruins. These ruins are on the ridge of a continuation of the Pajja range, and to the north-west of Hoti Mardán; they bear the name of the village in whose boundary they are situated. Excavations on a large scale were carried on in 1873 by a company of Sappers and Miners under the command of the late Lieut. Crompton, R.E., whose report published in the *Supplement* to the *Punjab Government Gazette* of 12th February 1874, gives a full account of the ruins. (See also Arch. Sur. V, 46-53).

(3) The Kharaki ruins, near a village of that name in *tappah* Baezai situated to the north, about 18 or 19 miles from the Mardán cantonment, were also explored and excavated in 1874 by Lieut. Grant, R.E. His report is published in the *Supplement* to the *Punjab Government Gazette* of 12th February 1874. (See also Arch. Sur. V, 53-55).

(4) The Takht Báhi ruins occupy the crest and northern slope of a hill which is a spur of the Pajja ridge and about 650 feet above the Yusafzai plain, which is 1,209 feet above the sea. A full and interesting account of these ruins is to be found in Bellew's "Yusafzai"; they also have been since thoroughly explored and excavated: a report is published in the *Supplement* to the *Punjab Government Gazette* of the 6th August 1874. (See also Arch. Sur. V, 23-36).

(5) The rock inscription at Sháhbáz-garhi, a village about six or seven miles to the east of Mardán. It is supposed to be one of Asoka's pillar edicts, publishing the establishment of the Buddhist faith as the state religion about 250 B.C. A correct copy of the inscription has been lately taken by General Cunningham. Scraps of it are to be found in Bellew's "Yusafzai." (Arch. Sur. V, 8-23).

(6) Ths Kashmir Smats.* This is a cave temple situated near the summit of the Sakri ridge of Pajja, and best approached from the village of Babozai in *tappah* Baezai. Its situation is eight miles to the north-west of Bazar in *tappah* Sadhúm. General Cunningham identifies it with Hwen Thsang's cave of Prince Sudána in Mount Dantalok. This cave has not been thoroughly explored yet. A little way below the level of the cave, and opposite, there are the ruins of a small city, the walls of which still stand and are in good preservation.

There are besides ruins of apparently walled cities and villages at Sahri-Behloi (Arch. Sur. V, 36-46) near Sawal-dhér, (Arch. Sur.

* Smats is the Pashto word for cave.

Chapter II. History. Antiquities.

V, 55) Likpani, Sangas, Baja, Maini, Topi, Zeda, and Hind.* The mounds scattered over the *maira* are also supposed by Dr. Bellew to be the sites and remains of ancient villages, because the surface soil on or about them is thickly strewed with fragments of red pottery. Bones, Hindu beads, glass bracelets, ashes, charcoal, a few Hindu idols, and coins, mostly Hindu, have been found below the surface soil.

From the ruins and sites above mentioned, coins of the Grecian, Bactrian, Scythian, Hindu and Muhammadan times are found, and pieces of statuary apparently of Grecian workmanship have been excavated. A valuable collection from the district is to be seen at the Lahore Museum. There is but one set of masonry ruins in Yusafzai, at Kapurda-garhi, that belongs to the Muhammadan era. From the Persian inscription on a white marble tablet found in the ruins, it appeared that Shamshér Khán Tarín in the twelfth year of the reign of Aurangzéb Alamgir, 1080 *Hijri*, had, on the part of the Government, conquered the country of Mandar, and built a fort, mosque and well. The remains of the mosque are still standing. In the remaining part of the district the principal ruins are the castle of Raja Hodi, situated on the hill above Khairábád, which Mr. Lowenthal considered was the Aornos of Alexander, (see also Arch. Sur. V, 64-66); ruins in the neighbourhood of Peshâwar between it and Jamrud; and a large tope on the right of the road to Fort Bara. Near Sper-sang, in *tappah* Barozai of Khalíl, there are the ruins of a large city which local tradition calls a city of the Káfirs. Topes or other antiquities are also discussed by General Cunningham at the following places, the vol. and page of his *Archæological Survey Reports* and the page of his *Ancient Geography* at which the description will be found being noted against each:—Chársadda, the old Peukelaotis (A. S. R. 89-90; A. G. 49-51); Tarangzai and Tangi (A. S. R. II, 90); Palodhéri, the old Tarúsha (A. S. R. II, 90-92; A. G. 51-52); Mount Karámán (A. S. R. II, 92); Wahind, the old Udakhanda, and capital of Gandhára (A. S. R. II, 92-95; A. G. 52-57); Lahor, the old Salátúra or Embolima (A. S. R. II, 95; A. G. 57-58); Bázár, the old Bazaria (A. S. R. II, 101).

ppearance of the ghâns in Peshâwar 800 A.D.

Before the close of the 7th century a new race, that of the Afgháns or Patháns, appeared upon the scene. This people is first heard of as holding the hills of Ghor and Sulimán at the period of the fall of Persia (A.D. 650) before the first advance of the Muhammadán arms. Against this wave of conquest the Afgháns appear not only to have held their own, but to have commenced at about the same period a series of aggressions upon their Indian neighbours of the Khaibar hills and the countries bordering upon the Indus. For many years they were thus brought into contact with the Rajas of Lahore, and according to Ferishta, after fighting 70 battles in five months, succeeded in wresting a portion of the plain country from him. At length they were joined by the Gakhars, an old and independent people (now the peaceable and industrious

* At page 120 of Burnes' Kábul he mentions the finding of a Sanscrit inscription on marble at Hind, assigned by Mr. Prinsep to the seventh or eighth century. It referred to the powerful Taruchas (Turks) as foes overcome by the nameless hero celebrated by the inscription.

inhabitants of the southern mountains of Hazára), who occupied the country between the Indus and the Jhelam, from the mountains in the north to the Salt Range in the south, originally the seat of the Khasahs, or Kashmiris. With their aid the Afgháns forced the Rajah at the end of the 7th, or beginning of the 8th century, to cede to them all the Kohistán west of the Indus, and south of the Kábul river, on the condition of their guarding that frontier of Hindustán against invasion. But the plain of Pesháwar and the hills to the north, with Swát, Bunér, &c., were still occupied by tribes connected with India, and were left unmolested. They are mentioned as the tribes of Sehat going to the assistance of Khomán of Chittore in the beginning of the 9th century, on which occasion Pesháwar is noticed with Lahore and Kangra as forming a princedom under Anunga, Chief of Delhi. The Afgháns remained independent in Ghor and the Sulemán and Khaibar mountains, long after Khorasán and Transoxiana had burst from the Arab yoke, and through the succeeding dynasties of Tahir, the Sofarides, and the Samanis.

Appearance of the Afghans in Pesháwar 800 A.D.

When Alptagin, governor of Khorasán under the last named princes, forcibly resisted expulsion from office in 970, he partially owed his success to the Patháns who sided with him, and began to display those martial qualities which afterwards obtained for them the first rank in the armies of Central Asia. But now the fate which had involved the Persian empire was about to be visited from other quarters upon that of India; and from the time of Sebuktagin who succeeded Alptagin in 977 A.D., Pesháwar became the scene of fierce contests; the plain of the district, and the hilly country to the north were still Indian, whilst the Patháns about the Khaibar were on friendly terms with the princes of Lahore. In 978 the Rajah of that place, Jaipal, son of Hispal, of the Brahman race, advanced from Pesháwar with a large force to assail Sebuktagin, who opposed and routed him at Laghman, pursuing his army to the Indus, and inflicting great loss. The conqueror took possession of the country up to the river, and left Abu Ali with 10,000 horse, as governor of Pesháwar. The Patháns at this time made an alliance with him, and furnished soldiers to his army.

A.D. 970. Alptagin governor of Khorasán.

A. D. 978. Sebuktagin takes Pesháwar.

Sebuktagin dying in 997, was succeeded as Governor of Khorasán by his son Mahmúd, who, throwing off all dependence on the Samani princes, assumed the title of Sultán in 999, and from this reign the Hindu religion in these parts may be said to have received its death blow. In the early reign of this celebrated invader of India the plains of Pesháwar were again the scene of some great battles, the first of which was fought on the *maira* between Nowshera and the Indus, in the year 1001. Mahmúd was opposed by Jaipál, who had been constantly endeavouring to recover the country wrested from him by Sebuktagin, still aided by some of the Patháns, whose allegiance to the Muhammadan governor of Pesháwar was not of long continuance. The battle took place on 27th November, and the Hindus were again routed, Jaipál himself being taken prisoner, who, upon his subsequent release, resigned the crown to his son Anandpál. On this occasion Mahmúd punished the Patháns who had sided with the enemy, and as they were now converted entirely to the Muhammadan faith, they were ever afterwards

A. D. 1001. Defeat of Jaipál by Mahmúd.

Chapter II.

History.

true to their new allegiance, and joined the Sultán in all his wars against the infidels. Mahmúd in 1,004 again visited Pesháwar, and was opposed near the Indus by Anandpál, who had joined the King of Multan in revolt, and was routed, and fled to Kashmir; the conqueror left as governor of the country, a converted Hindu, Sewakpál, who was called Zab Sais, but he afterwards revolted and relapsed into idolatry.

A. D. 1004. A converted Hindú, Sewakpál, appointed governor.

A.D. 1008. Defeat of Anangpal.

The Indian princes now viewed with great alarm the threatening attitude of the Ghazni ruler, and a vast army was assembled from all parts of Northern India, containing the flower of a falling but still undaunted race. Enriched with the offerings of patriotism (for the females had denuded themselves of their ornaments to send forth the devoted band, upon which were centred the last hopes of Hinduism), the army advanced towards the Indus, and was there joined by the Ghakkars, the bravest and strongest of the tribes then seated in the Punjáb. Mahmúd had made equally extensive preparations, and the two armies sighted each other on the plains of Chach.* The invader had not expected to meet so large a host as that which he found prepared to oppose him; and, throwing his army into an entrenched position, awaited attack. But Anangpal preferred a wiser course, and for forty days the armies remained watching each other. At length Mahmúd put forward a column of archers in the hopes of drawing the army to an engagement. The Ghakkars closing with them threw them into confusion, and pursuing closely, overbore all opposition, until they had cleared the entrenchments and slaughtered a vast number of Muhammadans. The action then became general, and Mahmúd's army was giving way under the fierce assault, when the Raja's elephant becoming frightened turned and fled. The Indians supposing their leader to be retiring from the field, lost heart and, becoming confused, fell back in disorder, while the Muhammadans rallying bore down upon them, and gained a complete victory, slaying, it is said, in the pursuit 20,000 of the infidels.†

A.D. 1020. Settlement of Pathán in the Khaibar.

In his invasions of 1017 and 1023, Mahmúd made Pesháwar the place of assembly for his armies, of which the Pathán then formed the main portion, and whose chiefs he invariably treated with honour, encouraging the tribe to settle in the Khaibar hills to serve as a barrier between his country and that of a powerful enemy. The Afridis were the tribe to whom the Indians had made the cession of these hills, before alluded to, at the close of the 7th century, and at this period they were being occupied by the ancestors of the Bangashes, Orakzais, Khaibaris, and Shinwáris, now possessing them.

Pesháwar a province of Ghazni under Mahmúd's successors.

For a century and more, Pesháwar continued a province of Ghazni under Mahmúd's numerous successors, and under the latter princes of that line acquired greater importance, becoming as it were the centre of their dominions, which then extended to Lahore, to which place the royal residence had been transferred. The greater part of the plain country (certainly the whole of Yusafzai to the north of the Kábul), was, at this time, and for many years ensuing, but thinly peopled. The invasions of Mahmúd had left it "a desert-"ed wilderness, the haunt of the tiger and rhinoceros, and only

State of the country.

* "Near Pesháwar," Elphinstone, p. 328.

† As to the alleged use of gunpowder in this battle, see Elphinstone, 329.

"occasionally visited for the sake of pasture by the shepherd tribes "accustomed to roam about the neighbouring countries. By these it "was gradually repeopled and cultivated in scattered spots, till in time "other tribes of cultivators came in, and settled all over the plain, "much as they are at the present day. The country, however, has "never properly recovered its former condition of prosperity. Now "wretched mud hovels stand on the ruins of former towns and cities, "the buildings of which are still in many parts traceable by the "remains of their massive stone walls. . . . Mahmúd's destruc- "tive hosts were not conquerors and settlers, but passing robbers and "plunderers. So were his successors Jhengiz Khán and Taimur "Lang with their swarms of destroying savages, who in the 13th and "14th centuries swept through this region on their way to India "and effectually prevented any attempt at colonizing or resettling the "country."* Thus even to the 16th century, the Pesháwar plain lay an almost total waste, covered with a thick jungle, in which Babar records the pleasure taken by his followers in hunting the rhinoceros.

State of the country.

The first settlement in the plains of any tribe of undoubted Afghán origin probably took place, as will be hereafter related, in the 15th century. Long before this, however, members of the Dalazák tribe, to whom some authorities (including Major James) attribute Pathán descent,† had settled in the plain. Their advent, which seems to have followed at no great interval after the era of Mahmúd, "was marked," says Major James, "by no outrages or slaughter. "The villages they found were few, the country poorly cultivated, and "the people a quiet race, chiefly pastoral, and still unconverted." These the Dalazáks reduced to a kind of servitude, contracting marriages at the same time with some of the chief families. The original inhabitants in a short time had become so incorporated with the more numerous and superior settlers as to be lost sight of. The Dalazáks, on the other hand, by intermarriages and the new customs which they adopted from their neighbours, lost their national characteristics, so that, in speaking of them at the present day, the Afgháns completely ignore their claim to Pathán descent and style them *káfirs*. In the 11th century these Dalazáks had possession of all the plain of Pesháwar,‡ and extended even to Chach Hazára,§ and the Jhelam. They continued quiet and orderly, their position in the plain rendering them accessible to punishment; and paid a small tribute to the local governors appointed from Ghazni. The hills to the north formed part of the Swát kingdom, which since the withdrawal of the Hindus from the Indus, had remained independent under a chief of its own with the title of Sultán.

Pathán Settlements in the plain; the Dalazáks.

In the same century the Pathán of Ghor, who had remained dependent on Ghazni, reasserted their rights, and after various fortunes succeeded in casting off the yoke, and in the person of Muhammad the brother of the first Ghorian usurper (Souri), destroyed the Ghaznavite power. He did all in his power to induce the Afgháns

Destruction of Ghaznavite power by Pathans of Ghor.

* Bellew, pp. 59-60

† The Afgháns reject the relationship and assign them an Indian origin.

‡ *i e.* The plain south of the Kábul river.

§ As to this term, see Gazetteer of Hazára.

Chapter II.

History.

Punjab retaken by Mahomed Ghori 1204 A.D.

to settle in the mountains about Peshâwar, and many extensive immigrations took place in his time. The Punjab, however, was wrested from his lieutenant, Kutabuddin, by the Gakkhars, from which Muhammad, the Ghorian, retook it in 1204, on which occasion he managed to convert them. The act cost him his life, for on his return towards Ghazni he was assassinated in his tent upon the Indus by a party of Gakkhars who had lost relatives in the late war. Civil commotions followed; the king of Kharizan, Tacash, took possession of Ghazni in 1215, and India was for some time ruled by the provincial governors who declared their independence. Thus for the first time the Indus became the boundary between the eastern and western empires, and India ceased to have connections with the trans-Indus territories. All this time the Pathán tribes retained their independence in the mountains, and bore no part in the conquests or losses of their brethren in Ghor: indeed, we find their hills the constant asylum of princes expelled by the Ghorians in their struggles for power. Peshâwar, too, remained in possession of the Dalazaks, subordinate to the successive princes of Ghazni, Ghor and Kharizán. The latter, however, soon fell before a new power which appeared upon the scene, and in 1242 the Moghals were in possession of all the country west of the Indus. At this time, too, another movement was taking place, the results of which were more important to the Peshâwar district than the invasions of Ghazni and Moghal conquerors.

The first Moghal invasion, A.D. 1242.

Disputes between the Khakhai and Ghori divisions of the Pathán nation.

Two Pathán brothers, Khakhai and Ghori, had in the earliest times given their names to two of the great divisions of the nation, settled near Kandahar: the lands of their inheritance were jointly possessed by them, which caused disputes to arise as their numbers increased, and the Khakhais, being the weaker of the two, were forced to content themselves with an unequal share, upon a separate division being made of the land. They were subsequently expelled from even this portion, and finally determined to remove altogether from their ancient seat: they were accompanied by the Usmánkhel and Muhammadzai tribes belonging to other divisions, and settled near Kábul about the middle of the 13th century, where they remained for some time quiet and unmolested. Taimur's invasion of India, in December 1397, did not* disturb Peshâwar or the tribes about it; he marched from Kábul to Bannu, where he crossed the Indus. About this time the Khakhai Pathâns, increasing in number and wealth, had now acquired importance in their new possessions, and were divided into three principal clans called Yusafzais, Gigianis, and Turkilanis. They were even then notorious for their turbulence and internal feuds, as well as for their oppressive treatment of their neighbours, whose flocks and herds they were constantly carrying off. But they were useful to Ulug Beg, (who was the eldest son of Shiroch, the son of Taimur and uncle of Babar), who was enabled through their assistance, A. D. 1470, to maintain himself in the sovereignty of Kábul; and, until firmly seated, he was obliged to leave them unrestrained. When no longer requiring their services, he attempted in vain to coerce them. A strong feud had risen between the Gigianis

Khakhai division accompanied by Usmankhel and Muhammadzais, settle near Kábul, 13th century.

Expulsion of Yusafzais from Kábul.

* Mill says, Taimur decended to the city of Kábul; whence he marched towards Attock, the celebrated passage of the Indus—page 273, Vol. II.

and Yusafzais, and Ulug Beg; siding with the former, sustained a defeat from the latter. Upon this he adopted a different policy, and feigned to treat the tribe with great consideration, inducing them to come to his *darbar* from the hills which they chiefly occupied, on which occasions their chiefs were treated with marked distinction. At length an occasion offered itself, when 70 of the Pathán *maliks* were unarmed and at his mercy, and basely availing himself of the opportunity, he slew them all but one, named Malik Ahmad, who was spared on the condition that the tribe should leave Kábul. They did so, and at first settled in Basaul and about Jalálábád. They endeavoured to take possession of Bajaur, but were repulsed.

Expulsion of the Yusafzais from Kábul.

The Yusafzais, Gigianis, and Muhammadzais then came to the Peshâwar plain, which they entered by the Tartara route at Spérsang, when they begged from the Dalazáks for a portion of land on which to settle. This was granted, and the new comers settled down in Doába. But they did not long remain on these terms, and although native historians lay the blame of the quarrel upon the cattle-lifting propensities of the Dalazáks, the contrary is the most likely supposition. The Yusafzais were the first to break faith, but they were soon joined by the Gigianis, Muhammadzais and Usmánkhels; a great battle was fought on the north side of the Swát river, in which the Dalazáks were routed with great slaughter, and fled precipitately to Hazára. The Gigianis received the Doába as their portion; to the Muhammadzais was assigned Hashtnagar; and to the Yusafzai the remainder of the country north of the Kábul river. The Usmánkhels were placed in the hills about the Swát river, and these tribes still retain the allotments then assigned to them. Malik Ahmad, before mentioned, figures in all these wars as a chief of distinguished valour. But the Yusafzais were bent on further conquest, and prepared to take possession of Swát, moving for that purpose to Shahkote. The Swátis were all assembled at the Mora Pass, and the Yusafzais, advancing to the foot of the hills, made as if they would attack at once. But at night they made a rapid turn to the Mulla Kund Pass, leaving their women in the camp, whose music and singing during the night concealed from the enemy their plans: the rising sun discovered the glittering swords of the invaders who had crowned the Pass, and suddenly fell upon the astonished Swátis, who offered but a weak resistance; thus the Yusafzais took possession of lower Swát. Basaul, Jalálábád and Laghman, thus evacuated by the Khakhai Patháns, came into the possession of the Ghori tribes, which comprised the Khalils, Mohmands and Daudzais: they likewise began to occupy the hills between Lalpura and the Peshâwar valley, now the seat of the upper Mohmands. The plain of Peshâwar, south of the Kábul river, still continued in possession of the Dalazáks. The Turkolanis partly remained in Laghman, and partly effected a settlement in Bajaur, which country, like that of Swát, had a chief with the title of Sultán.

Settlement in the Peshawar plain.

Further conquests of the Patháns.

During the greater part of the 15th century, the Patháns north of the Kábul river remained unmolested in their new possessions, to which they had added Bunér and Chamláh. They did not offer even a nominal allegiance to any foreign power, distributing their

Position of the Muhammadzais and Yusafzais during the 15th century.

Chapter II.

History.

Position of the Muhammadzais and Yusafzais during 15th century.

lands and governing themselves by certain acknowledged laws and customs, and as their numbers increased, forming themselves into smaller communities under local chiefs, with separate and distinct interests, but bound together by a strong tie of nationality, and jealously guarding against the acquisition of ascendancy by any tribe or individual amongst them—a strong trait in their character. The western powers were too weak to attempt interference, whilst the Afghán dynasty, which governed India during the greater part of this century, was absorbed in wars at home.

The Emperor Babar acquires sovereignty, A.D. 1504.

The Emperor Babar, of the Chaghatta family of Moghal Tartars, acquired the sovereignty of Kábul and Ghazni from the usurper Mokim in A.D. 1504. At this period, as has been before detailed, the plains and hills of Laghman, Kuner, Pesháwar, Swát and Bajaur were inhabited by newly-settled Afghán tribes, though towards the north some of the aborigines remained more or less independent under their hereditary native chieftains. Former Sultans of Kábul and Ghazni had claimed them as subjects, but beyond the occasional compulsory payment of tribute, the subjection, both of these tribes and of the Afgháns of the wilds and the mountains, had been little more than nominal. The clans occupying the hills infested the plains and high roads; those especially bordering on the difficult passes leading to India, looked upon them as a part of their revenue, either plundering or levying contributions on caravans and travellers, as at the present day.

In the following year, 1505, Babar meditated an incursion into India, and proceeded by Jalálábád (then called Adínapur) and the Khaibar Pass to Pesháwar. Here his original plan was abandoned for a marauding expedition to the southward, in the course of which he had several engagements with the Afgháns of Bangash (Kohát) and Bannu, returning by the Sakhi Sarwar Pass and Bori to Ghazni.

A. D 1505 to 1530. Babar's further incursions.

For several years after this Babar was occupied in quelling rebellions in his provinces, and in the vain endeavour to recover his possessions in Transoxiana from the Uzbeks. He undertook, also, several expeditions against the Afgháns in their hills, employing strong light forces, with which he endeavoured to surprise them. When successful, the foray resulted in the dispersion or slaughter of the men, and the carrying off of women, cattle and property. When, however, the clans were on their guard, they offered a brave resistance, and, after considerable loss to both parties, he withdrew his forces, claiming at best a doubtful victory. Still these forays had the effect of restraining the tribes nearest to him from plundering in his territories. Scarcely a year passed without his making inroads into the country of some of the tribes, either to chastise their licentiousness, or to protect his more peaceable subjects. But in 1519, fifteen years after his conquest of Kábul, he entered on a more extensive campaign against them, when the Dalazák Chiefs, burning to avenge themselves on the Yusafzai, attended him as allies and guides. They first marched against the fort of Bajaur, where the Sultán refused to submit. On this occasion it is said he employed matchlocks against the enemy, which were quite new to them; the experience of their effects threw the garrison into such consternation that the fort was easily carried by escalade, when the

men 3,000 in number, with their Sultán, were put to the sword, and a pillar erected of their heads; the women and children were enslaved. The Tarkulani Afgháns, already partially seated in Bajaur, extended their settlements and gradually possessed themselves of the country: on this occasion a tribute in grain was imposed upon them.

A. D. 1505 to 1530. Babar's further incursions.

Sultán Wais, of Swát, escaped a similar fate by tendering his submission, which was accepted. The Yusafzais in lower Swát, Bunér, &c., likewise sent an embassy to Babar, who deeming it prudent to avoid a harassing and bootless campaign in the hills, was apparently conciliated, and took in marriage the daughter of Sháh Mansur, one of their *maliks*, or head men. The final agreement included the imposition of a tribute in grain, and a promise on the part of the Yusafzais to refrain from inroads on upper Swát. Descending from the hills, Babar plundered the Yusafzais and Muhammadzais of the plains north of the Kábul river, and erecting a fort at Pesháwar, left a garrison there. This more complete subjugation of the tribes facilitated his subsequent operations towards Hindustan. He encamped at Katlang and Sháhbáz-garha, and it was then his troops destroyed the *ziárat* at Sháhbáz Kalandar. In 1519, Babar crossed the Indus above Attock, occupied Bherah on the Jhelam, and on his return to Kábul received the submission of the Gakkhars. His subsequent invasions of India did not affect the tribes about Pesháwar, but they took the opportunity of his continued absence to withhold their tribute, and to revert to their plundering habits. The Dalazáks too destroyed the Fort at Pesháwar. Babar died at Agra in 1530.

A. D. 1540 Humáyún.

Humáyún, his son compelled to fly towards Sind, left the territories of India and the Punjáb in the hands of the Afgháns under Sher Sháh. The latter Chief, whose real name was Farid, was the grandson of Ibrahím, an Afghán of the tribe of Súr, who came to Pesháwar with some of the earlier settlers and passed on to Hindustan in quest of military service. The house of Taimur would not probably have succeeded in again wresting the empire from Sher Sháh's successors, but for the jealousy with which the Afgháns regarded the advancement of any individual of their nation, and the strong notions they cherished of independence and equality—feelings which debarred all unity of action unless restrained by the personal character of the aspirant. These feelings pervade the nation, and are manifested as forcibly in the appointment of a village officer as in the instalment of a king. In 1551 Hamáyún, re-established at Kábul, meditated a return to India, but dared not cross the Indus whilst his restless brother, Kámrán, was at large. The latter Prince had sought an asylum with the Khalíl and Mohmand Afgháns, into whose hills he was followed by Humáyún, who gained a partial victory, and afterwards wintered at Pashut on the Kunar river, in which mountain fastness his troops were much harassed by the Afgháns, who prowled about his camp, plundering and putting to death all who fell into their hands. Kámrán wandered from tribe to tribe, staying a week with each, but at last, in 1552, he was surprised by Humáyún, whose troops committed great slaughter amongst the Afgháns. Kámrán himself escaped, but was finally

Chapter II.

History.

A.D. 1540 Humáyún.

given up to his brother by the Gakkhars under their chief, Sultán Adam. Towards the end of the year Humáyún proceeded to chastise the Afgháns for the assistance they had given to Kámrán, and his columns, penetrating into Bangash and Tirah, pillaged and laid waste the country, driving off the sheep and cattle of the tribes, and seizing their effects. In 1553 Humáyún, having caused his brother to be blinded and sent to Makka, prepared to invade India, and as a preliminary measure, rebuilt the fort at Pesháwar which the Dalazáks had destroyed. A strong garrison was placed in it under the command of Sekandar Khán, Uzbek, and the fort was provisioned with the grain of the neighbouring Dalazáks. The latter soon afterwards attacked it, but were repelled by the Uzbek commander. In the following year Humáyún recrossed the Indus on his road to Delhi.

A. D. 1554 the Ghoraikhel Afgháns (Khalíls, Mohmands and Daudzais) oust the Dalazáks.

After his departure the Ghoraikhel Afgháns, consisting of the Khalíl, Mohmand and Daudzai tribes, entered the plain of Pesháwar, and, ousting the Dalazáks, took possession of the districts in which they are now located, and to which they gave their names. The Dalazáks were driven across the Indus; they are to be met with now in but one or two villages west of that river, but are more numerous on the eastern side though, comparatively speaking, the tribe is extinct. The Khalíls, Mohmands and Daudzais being now seated in the plain and exposed to attack, became the frequent victims of the local Governors, a treatment which finally effected a change in their character and habits, contrasting strongly with the bold independence of their hill brethren. This completes the settlement at Pesháwar and its bordering districts of all the Afghán tribes now located there; no subsequent immigration took place.

Final settlement of Afgháns in Pesháwar.

A. D. 1585. Akbar's expedition.

In 1586 Akbar on his retnrn from Kashmir passed through the Pesháwar valley, and determined on the subjugation of its tribes which had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts to impose upon them a foreign yoke. Accordingly under pretence of a desire to restore the true faith he sent an army under Zain Khán, his foster brother, and Raja Bir Bal against the Yusafzais. The open country was soon subdued, a d the allied commanders attempted to follow up their enemy intonhe hills, but becoming involved among defiles, retired to the Emp tor's camp near Attock. A larger force was equipped, and sent again under the same commanders,; they advanced by Pulli, and Bir Bal attempted to ascend the passes nto Swát, but was vigorously attacked and obliged to retire: in the pursuit he was himself slain, and his force cut up. Zain Khán's division was still in the plain but, being attacked in the night, was likewise defeated, and he fled on foot to Attock. Akbar fitted out a third expedition against them, and placed its conduct under the celebrated Todar Mal and Raja Mán Singh, the Governor of Kábul. Taught by experience the impolicy of hazarding a desultory contest in the hills, these leaders adopted a more prudent course, and, taking up positions in different parts of the country, fortified themselves and prevented the Patháns from cultivating in the plain.

Akbar's policy.

This measure proved so harrassing to the tribes that they tendered a nominal submission, which enabled Akbar to make some kind of agreement with them in the winter of 1587, and to turn his attention towards the Roshanias of Tirah and its neighbouring hills. Having thus asserted his supremacy, Akbar never attempted the more complete subjugation of a people upon whom so little impression could be made even by costly expeditions, which exhausted the resources of the empire. He confined himself to keeping open the road to Kábul, and maintaining a partial control over the hill men, by keeping a firm hold of the plains, and thus commanding their cultivation. But his Governors were mostly oppressive and tyrannical: one of them, Syad Hamad, demanded in marriage the daughter of Malik Rabi, of the Daudzai tribe. He refused to give her, and upon being pressed to do so, feigned at last to comply, and at a great feast, held on the occasion, the Governor and his suite were murdered, and Malik Rabi fled to the hills. As soon as his power was removed, the tribe revolted. Akbar was at length compelled to recall him under a promise of pardon—a course afterwards frequently adopted by the Sikhs towards chiefs who fled.

The Roshania Sect.

About this time (the middle of the 16th century) a religious sect arose among the Patháns, which was destined to be the cause of prolonged dissension amongst the tribes. It was founded by one Bazíd, who assumed the character of a Prophet, and collected numerous disciples, chiefly in the Suliman and Khaibar mountains. He styled himself Pir Rokhan or Roshan, but by all native historians he is called Pir Tarík, or "saint of darkness," a name given to him by his great opposer Akhund Darwaiza. He laid aside the Korán, and taught that nothing existed but God, who required no set forms of worship, but an implicit obedience to his Prophet. This easy creed met with many supporters amongst the wild mountaineers, who found a further incentive for joining the sect in the license which it afforded to them. It enjoined a species of social communism; and its professors were authorised to seize the land and property of all who would not accept their creed. Venturing at length to oppose the government of Kábul, Pir Roshan was captured and imprisoned. A large sum of money procured his release, and he then made Hashtnagar his seat where he received many converts. He died, however, soon after his release at Ghalladher. His five sons strove to keep up the sect, which at that time embraced half the nation, its most active and important members being the Afridis of Tira, and some of the Yusafzai. Shaikh Umar, the eldest son, removed the bones of his father, and carried them about with him in a chest: but his success was not great, and a strong opposition being raised by Akhund Darwaiza, the Yusafzai tribes were reclaimed. At length the supporters of the new sect met with a defeat at Maini, where Shaikh Umar with two of his brothers were slain, and their bodies thrown into the Indus, while the bones of their father were burned. The two younger sons, Jalal-ud-din and Kamal-ud-din, escaped and went to Tira, which then became the chief seat of the sect. About this time Akbar was, as already related, asserting his supremacy over the Yusafzai, who had not joined in the Roshania movement. While these events were in progress, Jalal-ud-din was wandering at

The Roshania Sect.

the head of a powerful band in the mountains lying between Kábul and Ghazni, and at one time obtained actual possession of the latter place. He was then attacked by Jafar Beg sent against him from Kábul by Akbar (A. D. 1600); and being driven out of the city, was killed in an attempt to recover it. Kamal-ud-din was captured in Hashtnagar and kept a prisoner in India till his death. The two rocks upon the Indus opposite Attock are called Jalalia and Kamalia after these two brothers, in allusion to the great loss of life caused by the dangerous whirlpools at their base, and to the extensive shipwreck of souls imputed to the two upholders of the Roshania sect. The epithet was first given by Akhund Darwaiza, their father's great opponent, and one of the most celebrated saints of the country. He wrote a history and several theological works, and died at Peshá-war, where his tomb is still a place of general resort and superstitious sanctity. The Roshania sect still continued to flourish for many years in Tira, under Ihdad, the grandson of Bazíd by his son Um'ar Khán. Like his uncles, this man led the life of a robber; and his bands of religious burglars and highwaymen, who for many years infested the country between Kábul and Pesháwar, acquired notoriety by their success, enterprise, and cruelty.* In A.D. 1611, during the reign of Jahangir, the Roshanias once more appeared in force, and succeeding in causing a revolt in Kábul, but were defeated with great slaughter, and from that time the sect gradually wore out. At the present time its tenets are professed only by the immediate descendants of the founder in Tira and Kohat, and by some of the Bangash and Orakzai Patháns. The ancestors of those members of the latter tribe who are popularly known as Shias, were probably of this sect.

The separation of the Yusafzai and Mandan.

The Yusafzai, upon first taking possession of their present seats, were accompanied by three Shaikhs of great repute, believed to have possessed the power of predicting events destined to affect their nation. The most celebrated of this was Skaikh Malli, to whom was entrusted the work of dividing the land amongst the several branches of the tribe. The relative proportions assigned by him to each clan is the recognised standard of the present day. He did not specify the lands, but, referring to the numbers and circumstances of each family to be provided for, he fixed the relative number of shares† to be assigned to the clans and their several minor divisions. And these have been adhered to in all their subsequent removals and migrations, so that it is a common thing at the present day to find Yusafzai proprietors eagerly referring to this ancient scale of rights. The tribe was at first known only by the general name of Yusafzai, in the same way as the latter in Kandahár and Kábul were undistinguished from the main branch of Khakhai; but when their numbers increased, and their possessions were enlarged, they separated into two divisions, the Yusafzai and the Mandanzai, the latter being the descendants of Mandan, who was the nephew of Yusaf. And both Mandan and Yusaf being descended from Khakhai, Shaikh Malli's distribution gave them both hill and plain, which was divided by lot amongst their several clans and sub-divisions. The two divisions

* Bellew. † *Pakhras*, see below.

remained for some time together, but quarrels ensued, which were enhanced by the confusion caused by the oustings and intrigues of the Moghals, till at last about the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century the Yusafzai, in Swát and Buner, expelled all the families of the Mandanzai which were in those countries. The latter tribe, leaving their women in Chamla, descended to the plain, and similarly expelled the Yusafzai families settled there, who removed to Swát and Buner except the Baezai whom the Mandans were unable to drive out from the Lundkhwar valley. Swát, Bunér and the Lundkhwár and Ranizai valleys thus remained to the Yusafzai; and Chamla, Panjtár, and the plain country up to the Kábul river, to the Mandan branch, which is the division at the present day as regards the tribe itself, though the Khattaks have since possessed themselves of the greater part of the Lundkhwar valley, and of a good strip on the plain between the Indus and Kábul rivers. But the Yusafzai had before this acquired the reputation of conquering the country, and as may frequently be observed amongst Pathán communities, the name of the inferior division was lost in that of the superior, and the Mandan branch and their country is still popularly known as Yusafzai, except amongst themselves.

The separation of the Yusafzai and Mandan.

The state of the district remained unaltered during the reigns of Jahangir and Sháh Jahán, though the Pathán rendered at the best an unwilling allegiance, and from time to time took advantage of a weak Governor or a foreign war to raise commotion. At length, in A.D. 1668, they openly revolted, and rushing down in large numbers, devastated Chach, and cut off the communication between Delhi and Kábul. They were led on this occasion by one Muhammad, said by Indian historians to have been invested with the insignia of royalty, and to have claimed for himself a descent from Alexander the Great and a daughter of the King of Transoxiana. There is no local belief, however, in this statement, nor do we hear again of the supposed King. They were defeated near Attock; but repulsed at Peshawar the royal troops sent against them by Amin Khán, the Governor of Kábul, and remained for a time sole masters of the plain, the Yusafzai especially acquiring great fame for valour and martial prowess. Amin Khán himself was taken prisoner with his wives and family. Aurangzib who was at this time on the throne of Delhi, now marched in person at the head of an army to re-establish his ascendancy. He advanced, however, only to Hassan Abdál, whence he despatched his son, Sultán, to act against the rebels. From 1673 to 1675 the war continued under the general direction of the Emperor, and, for several years after his return, under that of his Generals, but his arms met with little success, and he was at last compelled to agree to terms which left the Pathán almost independent, and withdrew his forces to India.

Reigns of Jahangir, Sháh Jahán, and Aurangzib.

This period is distinguished in Pathán annals by the verses and deeds of the renowned Khoshál Khán, the Khattak chief, at once a warrior, poet, and patriot; himself the most polished member of the most polished tribe of his nation. He has left a history, and some poems of considerable merit, which he indited during the wars with the Moghal emperors to excite the patriotism of his countrymen, reciting the brave deeds of their fathers, and taunting them with

Khoshál Khán, the poet chief.

Chapter II. History.

Khoshál Khán, the poet chief.

lukewarmness and want of manly spirit. Nor was he less active as a soldier than as a patriotic bard; for he led his Khattaks well on many occasions, and once obtained a great victory on the low hills opposite Akora, though deserted by the Yusafzai, whose base flight he has recorded in a poem full of spirit. On one occasion he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was for three years imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, after which he was exchanged for some Imperial prisoners of rank, and returned to the head of his tribe, which he led on to fresh victories, in the defiles of the Khaibar and Khrappa passes, the hills of the Mohmands, in the Doába, at Nowshera, and at Akora; and was thus notably instrumental in the successful issue of a war by which this brave people freed themselves from the oppressive rule of the Emperors of Dehli.

Nádir Sháh.

The successors of Aurangzib retained nominal possession of Pesháwar, but the monarchy was declining, and they had neither the power nor inclination to make any further attempts to control its rude tribes. In A.D. 1718, one Násir Khán was appointed Governor. He adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Patháns, with whom he became popular. He long foresaw the storm which was about to burst upon the falling empire, and had for some years warned the Court of Nádir Sháh's approach. His calls for assistance were, however, neglected; and when the threatened invasion came, and Nádir Sháh appeared at Pesháwar, he surrendered the place. The conqueror, crossing the Indus in 1738, defeated the Imperial forces, and, following up his victory, extorted from Muhammad Sháh a treaty by which all the trans-Indus countries were ceded to him. The road through the Khaibar had been closed against Nádir Sháh by the Afridis and Shinwáris, but an Orakzai chief led his army by Tirah to Pesháwar. He intended to punish these tribes on his return, but was soon wearied of a contest which brought him no renown. He built a fort at Bázár near the mouth of the Khaibar Pass, and hoped to starve out the hill-men in their barren rocks; but they continued to annoy his garrison, and he finally withdrew after making a kind of agreement with them. He is said to have come to this determination after an interview with Dariya Khán, the Mallikdinkhel chief, who brought with him some of the bitter wild roots upon which his tribe subsisted (chiefly the *mazarrai* or dwarf palm, and the *pamannai*). On seeing these, the King was readily persuaded that to attempt the blockade of a people who could live on such productions would be futile. Pesháwar was thus again transferred from the Eastern to the Western empire, and Nasir Khán's services were rewarded by his new master with the joint government of Kábul and Pesháwar. During the nine years which intervened between this period and the assassination of Nádir Sháh, the affairs of Khorasán occupied too much of his attention to allow of much interference with the new province, the people of which had of late years considerably increased in wealth and numbers. The Yusafzai, the Khattaks, and the hill tribes remained independent, and paid no tribute; but the Khalíls, Mohmands, Daudzais, Gigianis, and Muhammadzais of the plains submitted to the local governors, and were forced to pay tribute through their chiefs. Some of the latter were in the habit of going occasionally to the Court and bringing back with them

grants of land, and patents exempting them from tribute, which still exist; but it does not appear that they were invariably acted upon, for in those days a goodly array of followers, or a reputation for Pakhtunwalli, or Pathán virtue, possessed greater force than a royal patent.

The Duráni Dynasty.*

The death of Nádir (A.D. 1747) was followed by the establishment at Kandahár of the Duráni dynasty in the person of Ahmad Sháh, who managed, by a prudent course of policy towards his countrymen, almost imperceptibly to get all real power into his own hands, until, notwithstanding the repugnance which was felt by the people towards a monarchical form of government, by flattering his own tribe, punishing the Ghilzais, conciliating others, and gaining reputation by foreign wars, he consolidated his power, and brought the Pathán to look upon him as their native King. Násir Khán refused to acknowledge his sovereignty, and Ahmad Sháh drove him from Kábul to Pesháwar; but the tribes at that place turning against him, he was forced to cross the Indus, rapidly followed by the King, who advanced to Lahore, reduced the Punjab, and conquered Kashmír. During the remainder of his reign the plains of Pesháwar were brought under more complete control than before, and some expeditions sent into the Yusafzai valleys occasionally despoiled their frontier villages, whilst the revenue of those *tappas* in the vicinity of the town, was increased and fixed upon the villages, although it was still mostly paid through the chiefs of clans. Moreover, in the 26 years of Ahmad Sháh's vigorous and active reign, many nobles and families of wealth or religious importance settled in the country, building residences of greater pretensions than those previously existing in the city, and adorning them with gardens and reservoirs.

A. D. 1773 Taimur Sháh.

Taimur Sháh succeeded his father in 1773, but proved himself a voluptuous and indolent prince. He resided a great deal in Pesháwar, where he kept up his court with much pomp and ceremony, attracting to it a large concourse of nobles and adventurers from the surrounding countries. The Qazikhel began to acquire power in his time, and always retained in their hands the chief legal and municipal offices; proud, bigoted and overbearing they presumed upon the weakness of the king, and became notorious for their corrupt and avaricious character. In the district there was much confusion, the chiefs, warring with each other, were engaged in constant feuds; and agriculture was neglected for the more stirring excitement of raids and rapine. Nevertheless the Yusafzai continued to pay their revenue through their chiefs, Naushahi Khán and Sháhwali Khán of Hoti.

Insurrection in 1779 by Mian Umar of Chamkanni.

In 1779 an insurrection took place under the Chamkanni Mián Umar, a man of great sanctity, which had for its object the dethronement of Taimur. The chiefs of the Mohmand, Khalíl and Daudzai tribes were called Arbábs; they possessed great power and influence, and were employed to collect the revenues of their *tappas*, and to summon their levies when required by the Government. The Chamkanni Mian was joined by Faizulláh, one of the Khalíl Arbábs, who had obtained the king's permission to collect troops for an attack

* From *durr-i-durran*, "pearl of pearls," or *durr-i-dauran*, "pearl of the age," a title assumed by Ahmed Sháh Abdáli in allusion to the Abdáli custom of wearing a pearl stud in the ear, and afterwards extended to the whole Abdáli tribe.

Chapter II. History.

upon the Punjab. When his band was assembled, composed chiefly of the Khaibar tribes, he suddenly rushed upon the citadel of Peshá-war, and overpowering the guard, entered the palace. Taimur Sháh acted on the occasion with firmness and energy, and, collecting his guards, opposed the rebels and forced them to retire. The plot was traced to the Mian, but the Pathán tribes would not allow him to be punished, out of the superstitious reverence they habitually paid to members of his class; he fled to a hill separating Yusafzai from Bunér, where he stayed for a few days, and was then allowed to return. The hill where he rested is called his Serec, or gift of land to the present day, and has been vested with a kind of sanctity from the circumstance. It is called Amankot from having been the place of refuge of some Daulatzai Patháns of Bunér, who fled there after committing a murder, and whose descendants still occupy the small hamlet on the spot.

Insurrection in 1779 by Mian Umar of Chamkanni.

The death of Taimur Sháh in 1793 left the throne to be contested by his sons, whose adventurous enterprizes and varied fortunes form a romantic page in oriental history. On the defeat of Sháh Zamán by Mahmúd, his brother, Sháh Shújá, at Pesháwar, who now proclaimed himself king, and actively sought to procure the alliance of the eastern tribes. He was first defeated and found an asylum with the Afridis of Chúrá, near the mouth of the Khaibar, till he might re-gather his forces for another attempt on Pesháwar, in which he failed, and was again defeated in a battle fought in the neighbourhood of Tahkál, near the ruins of a tope on the road to Jamrúd. During 1809 he was in power at Pesháwar, and received with courtesy and honour the British mission conducted by the Honourable Mountstuart Eliphinstone, but was forced shortly after to fly before the better fortune of Mahmúd, or rather of his talented, brave, but unscrupulous minister, Fatteh Khán. He again retook Pesháwar in March of that year, but was again expelled by Azim Khán and driven across the Indus. His last attempt was made in December 1811, when defeat again ensued, and after many wanderings, and escaping from the prisons of Kashmír and Lahore, he found, in 1815, a resting place, under British protection, at Ludianah.

Sháh Shújá at Pesháwar proclaims himself king.

Fatteh Khán was now the virtual possessor of all power under the nominal sovereignty of Mahmúd, but was presently blinded and murdered with unusual barbarity, upon which the Barakzai family threw off all show of allegiance, and usurped the government, the ex-king and his son retaining only Herat. The other provinces of the Duráni empire became independent chiefships, under the rulers at the time. Pesháwar fell to the four brother *sardárs* Yar Muhammad, Sultán Muhammad, Sayad Muhammad and Pír Muhammad also known as Sarfaraz Khán, son of Paenda Khán.

Rise of the Barakzai.

It was shortly after these events that Masson visited Pesháwar, and the characters of the four *sardárs* given by him were as follows :—

"Yar Muhammad, the eldest, was nominally the chief; Pír Muham-
"mad, the youngest, was the most powerful from the greater number
"of troops he retained;; Sultán Muhammad Khán was not supposed
"to want capacity, but was held to be milder and more amiable than
"his brothers, and his excessive love of finery exposed him to ridicule;
"Sayad Muhammad Khán was in intellect much inferior to the

"others, and looked upon as a cypher in all matters of consultation "and government." During all these disturbances Pesháwar remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion, passing from one ruler to another, none of whom could exercise much real control over its wild occupants. The hill tribes, always at the disposal of the highest bidder, had been for the most part staunch supporters of Sháh Shújá, who was compelled in return to pay largely for their services, in addition to the sum of 1¼ lakhs annually paid in the time of his predecessors to the tribes of the Khaibar for keeping open the road. Indeed, all the revenues of Pesháwar under the Duránis were absorbed in the payment of such allowances to the hill tribes, and to the Chiefs of the plain, who were called on for occasional services with the militia. A statement of the average revenues derived from the Pesháwar district by the Durání Kings is given in another part of this account.

Rise of the Barakzai.

Meanwhile, the Sikhs had appeared upon the scene. Attock fell to Ranjít Singh in 1814, and in 1818 a Sikh army advancing upon Pesháwar, overran the country as far as the foot of the hills. At length, in 1823 Azim Khán determined to try his strength with this new power and advanced with a large army from Kábul to Pesháwar. The Sikhs crossed the Indus to meet him. Ranjít Singh with the choicest portion of his army, crossing the Kábul river at Akora, marched up the left bank, sending Kharrak Singh with the remainder of the force by the right bank, to hold in check the troops expected from Pesháwar. Azim Khán having despatched his brother, Sammand Khán, to raise the Khattaks and Yusufzai, who readily obeyed the summons, followed himself by a forced march to Nowshera. He found Sammand Khán already engaged with the enemy, on the plain to the north of the Kábul river, between that town and Pír Sabak, but was unable to join him on account of the stream. The Patháns fought with desperate valour, but could not make head against the superior numbers and discipline of the Sikhs; frequently rallying, however, upon some low hills adjacent, they bore down bravely upon the enemy, who began to waver towards evening, but regained their advantage when Ranjít Singh, seizing a standard, himself led them to victory. The last stand was made at sunset by a party of 200 Yusafzai, who fell gallantly fighting. In this action 10,000 Patháns are said to have been slain. And with them fell that gallant old Sikh soldier Phula Singh, the intrepid leader of the Akáli or Immortals, who five years before had led the way into the breach at Multan, and was on this occasion no less conspicuous for his gallantry. The Sardárs Azim Khán and Dost Muhammad, who had not taken part in the contest, fled to Kábul, and Ranjít Singh, advancing to Pesháwar, made the four brothers at that place his tributaries, and after a short stay, withdrew beyond the Indus. His departure was precipitated by the action of the Afridis, who caused an inundation in the Sikh camp by opening the embankments of the Bára river in the hope of plunder during the consequent confusion. Azim Khán did not long survive this humiliating defeat; and at his death, Dost Muhammad obtained the chief authority at Kábul.

The Sikhs.

Chapter II.

History.

Sayad Ahmad Sháh of Bareily A.D. 1824.

About this time an individual made his appearance in the district, whose short but adventurous career affords an illustration of the simplicity and superstition which has always rendered the Patháns an easy prey to the artifices and schemes of any one who laid claim to superior sanctity. This was Sayad Ahmad Sháh of Bareilly, who, travelling by Shikárpur and Kábul, arrived amongst the Yusafzai in 1824, giving out that he was divinely commissioned to wage a war of extirpation against the infidel Sikhs and Chinese. In a short time an immense army was at his disposal, animated by a spirit of fanaticism which filled the hearts of his admirers with high hopes.* The four Peshâwar *sardárs* felt the influence, and longing to free themselves from their Sikh oppressors joined the crusade, the ranks of which were swelled by numerous adventurers from Hindustan. At last the Sayad marched to Nowshera, proposing first to lay siege to Attock; but Ranjít Singh was not unprepared, and Hari Singh with 20,000 men awaited him on the Indus, and now sent a large force under Budh Singh across the river which advanced to meet the fanatics to Saidu where they entrenched themselves. Ahmad Sháh surrounded the party, and reduced it to great distress. Budh Singh at length determined to fight, after telling the Duráni *sardárs* that, if they kept aloof, their country should not be taken from them, and reminding them also of Ranjít Singh's approach, and their certain fate if they acted with the enemy. This warning had the desired effect, for the Duránis fled at the commencement of the battle, Yar Muhammad Khán at their head; this act of treachery decided the day, and a great slaughter of Muhammadans took place, the Patháns making no fight, but throwing themselves down before the excited Sikh soldiery. Ahmad Sháh fled by Lundkhwár to Swát, being taken ill on the road, which gave rise to the rumour that he had been poisoned by the Duráni *sardárs*, a suspicion, however, which does not rest on any good ground. This defeat, however, did not disabuse the Patháns of his miraculous power, and he again managed, in a few months, to collect several thousand followers.

Ahmad Sháh fled to Swát.

Sayad Ahmad becomes firmly seated and takes tithes.

At the invitation of some of the Kháns he returned to Yusafzai, taking up his residence with Fatteh Khán of Panjtár, and commenced a series of exploits, which eventually placed in his hands the whole power of Yusafzai and the neighbouring hills. He first quarrelled with Khadi Khán of Hind (incited by his enemy Fatteh Khán) whom he killed, taking possession of his fort and property; but the principal chief in Yusafzai at that time was Ahmad Khán of Hoti, who shortly met with the same treatment at his hands. Sayad Ahmad had now seated himself so firmly as to take tithes from the Yusafzais, and his power was such as to enable him to oust or uphold at his pleasure. Several of the most powerful and independent of the Kháns derived their authority from him, amongst whom was Mir Bábu Khán of Sadhúm. His army was not very numerous, composed chiefly of Hindustanis and fanatics, but whenever required he could summon a host of Patháns. Looking upon the Duránis as

* A very full account of the history of this period will be found at pages 83-107 of Dr. Bellew's Yusafzai.

enemies, he kept them constantly under alarm by threatening Hashtnagar, and inciting the Khaibaris to annoy them on that side, many of which tribe took service with him, being inimical to the Barakzai *sardárs* who had stopped the allowances formerly made them by the Saddozai Princes.

Attacked Yár Muhammad Khán in 1828.

The Duráni camp was at Topi near Zaida, when Sayad Ahmad advanced from Panjtár and encamped at Zaida, sending a party at night under Maulvi Ismail to surprise his enemy. The attack was completely successful; Yar Muhammad was killed, his force put to flight, and his camp, together with six guns and many horses, fell into the hands of the Sayad. Four of these guns he placed in Panjtár, and two at Sitáná. He now possessed almost regal power, which he exercised with vigour, maintained solely by the influence he had acquired over the minds of his subjects. He opened negotiations with Painda Khán of Amb, with the ostensible desire of being allowed a passage through the lands of that chief on an approaching expedition against the Sikhs; but they resulted in Painda's flight, and the occupation of Amb by Sayad Ahmad, who strengthened the fortifications of the place.

Duránis, in 1829 again attack Sayad Ahmad, but are defeated and his supremacy in Peshawar acknowledged.

The Duránis, in 1829, having received support from Kábul, set out a second time to expel him, but meeting them with a large force at Hoti, he was again victorious, and the *sardárs* fled to Pesháwar, closing the ferries behind them. Sayad Ahmad turned to Hashtnagar, where Sayad Muhammad resided, who also fled at his approach; thence he traversed the Doába to Michni, and crossing the river there, threatened Pesháwar. He was supported and accompanied by Bahrám Khán, one of the Khalíl Arbábs hostile to the Barakzai, and by Faizulla Khán, Hazár Khániwálá, a chief of some importance. By means of the latter, a negotiation was entered into with the *sardárs*, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Sayad, and received him at Pesháwar as a master. He remained only three days in the city, leaving Maulvi Mazhar Ali to receive a sum of money for which he had stipulated with the three brothers, and to act as his *naib*, and returning himself to Panjtár. It is impossible to say how long this priestly rule and anomalous power of the Sayad might have existed, or to what extent it might have swelled, holding in restraint a wild, brave and independent people and overpowering with its undisciplined hordes, the regular armies of ruling chiefs in a manner which served to give some colour to the popular superstition that he possessed the faculty of silencing guns and rendering bullets harmless, had he not, in the pride of his success, forgotten to be moderate, and ventured to impose upon his subjects a strict and oppressive *régime* from which even their superstitious reverence revolted. Attended by but few followers at Panjtár, he avoided all stately pretensions, and maintained the appearances of a life passed in devotional exercises, fastings and prayer; but, with all this affectation of pious zeal, his mind was bent on intrigue and ambitious scheming. His paid retainers were scattered over the country, collecting fines and dues, and reporting the most trifling incidents to their master. Even the exactions and insolence of his soldiery might have been borne, but he now began to interfere with Pathán customs, and found too late that he was thereby exceeding his bounds. The Afgháns have retained

Chapter II.

History.

Duránis, in 1829 again attack Sayad Ahmad, but are defeated and his supremacy in Peshá-war acknowledged.

many peculiarities contrary to Muhammadan law and usage, and the strictly orthodox have been shocked at the open sale of their daughters carried on by them. Sayad Ahmad ordained that this practice should cease; and, to assist in its abolition, decreed that all Patháns should give their daughters in marriage at an early age, without receiving money, and if not then betrothed they might be claimed by their nearest relatives. This domestic interference, combined with the Sayad's growing demand for wealth, determined the Yusafzais to throw off the yoke, and at a secret council a day was appointed for the slaughter of all his soldiers and agents throughout the country. The proposed massacre was spoken of in the interval under the phrase of threshing *makai*, and a singnal was concerted of lighting a bonfire when the work was to commence. It seems probable that the Pesháwar *sardárs* were associated in the plot, for on the stated Friday, whilst the fires of Yusafzai notified the carnage enacting there, they slew Maulvi Mazhar Ali, the agent left with them, and Faizulla Khán, Hazárkhániwálá, who had aided the Sayad on his visit to Pesháwar, and by whose abandonment of them they had been compelled to make terms. Several thousands were slain on this occasion, and the excited Yusafzai chiefs, as eager now to destroy as they had been to support Ahmad Sháh, flocked to Panjtár; but aided by his constant ally Fatteh Khán, he avoided their pursuit, and with a few followers fled to Tahkot, and, crossing the Indus, found a resting place in the valley of Pakli; on the road he buried the guns which he had taken from the Duránis and they have never been since discovered.

Final defeat and death of Sayad Ahmad, in 1830 by Sher Singh at Bálá kot.

Thus ended his extraordinary ascendancy of little more than four years' duration; but Hindústaní followers flocked to him in his new settlement; and in 1830 Sher Singh, bringing an army from Kashmír, gave battle to the fanatics near Bálákót, where they fought with all the energy of despair, and but few escaped, though the number of the Sikhs who fell on that day attests the fierceness of the struggle. Sayad Ahmad and his companion, Maulvi Ismail, with Bahrám Khán, the Khalfl Arbáb, were all killed on this occasion; the body of the former was buried by the order of Sher Singh, but being exhumed by some Nihangs, was thrown into the river, and on being washed to shore, was hacked in pieces—a *zamíndár* rescuing one of the thighs, which was buried at Pallikot. There is a legend amongst his followers and disciples that he went away alive, and is yet to re-appear for the extirpation of infidels; and in the late disturbances with the Sayads of Khágán, some excitement was caused by an inflated hide being dressed up as one of the holy family and placed in a cave before a Korán to personate the deceased saint. The opinion at Pesháwar and the neighbourhood is very prevalent that Ahmad Sháh was of the Wahhábi sect; but the report first arose subsequent to his death and some of his known acts seem to render it improbable. Several adventurers, who followed in his steps, were Wahhábis, and perhaps the rumour may have arisen from that circumstance.

The Sikh Conquest.

After the decisive battle of Nowshera in 1823, the Pesháwar valley lay at the mercy of Ranjít Singh. No permanent occupation, however, was at this period attempted. Subject to the payment of

The Sikh Conquest.

a yearly tribute the government remained in the hands of the Barakzai *sardárs*, Ranjít Singh, for his part, contenting himself with sending an army annually to receive the tribute and to keep up the terror of his name. On these occasions the Sikh armies committed the utmost havoc, burning a great part of Pesháwar, and felling the trees of its numerous gardens for firewood.* Ranjít Singh himself returned to Pesháwar shortly after the defeat of Sayad Ahmad at Saidu, and on this occasion, though the Duráni *sardárs* had obeyed his orders in deserting Sayad Ahmad, he caused a part of the city, including the royal residence of Bala Hissar to be destroyed, while the country was ravaged far and wide. Having read them this severe lesson, and doubled the amount of the tribute, Ranjít Singh left the district, taking with him the son of Yár Muhammad as a hostage. Shortly afterwards Yár Muhammad was killed in battle with Sayad Ahmad, and the leading part in the Duráni government then devolved upon Sultán Muhammad and his brother Pír Muhammad, who, expelling the sons of Sammand Khán from Kohát and Hangú, occupied these places in addition to their possessions in the Pesháwar valley. The gross revenues of the territories under them at this time amounted to about ten lakhs of rupees, and their rule is looked back upon by the people as one of great oppression. Pír Muhammad's abilities gave him the first place, though he was the youngest in years; Sultán Muhammad chiefly gave his attention to pleasure, and was celebrated for his foppish love of dress, which acquired for him the soubriquet of the golden *sardár*. The periodical visits of the Sikhs were calamitous to the people. Their approach was the signal for the removal of property and valuables, even of the window and door frames of the houses. Crowds of women and children fled frightened from their homes, and the country presented the appearance of an emigrating colony. As the hated host advanced, they overran the neighbourhood, pillaging and destroying whatever came within their reach, and laying waste the fields. The system undoubtedly kept the population in a depressed state, and deterred the *sardárs* from rising against a yoke they felt so irksome.

Yusafzai attacked by the Sikhs.

The Yusafzai country was similarly exposed to depredation. After witnessing the gallantry displayed at Nowshera, Ranjít Singh had at first no wish to renew the contest; but being engaged with the lawless Patháns of Gandgarh, on the east of the Indus, he had encamped his army near the river, when the Yusafzai, depending upon the stream as a barrier, commenced to insult the Sikhs by slaughtering cows in their presence. Ranjít Singh, unable longer to restrain himself, ordered his troops to cross. Some of his best warriors strove to induce him not to attempt it, pointing out the peril of fording such a river; but he was not to be deterred. A body of Irregulars first plunged in and crossed, though with a loss of several hundreds. Mr. Allard's regular regiments of cavalry followed, and maintaining good order effected the passage with but trifling loss. The Patháns, thunderstruck at the boldness of the exploit, attempted no resistance, but fled to their villages closely

*Fuel is only obtainable from the hills, and while these visitations lasted, no one attempted to bring it in.

pursued by the Sikhs, who for several days carried on an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, under an excitement which no humiliating supplication, no abject submissiveness, could for a time allay.

Hari Singh's administration.

Upon retiring (A. D. 1824), the Sikh ruler left Hari Singh Nalwa to command on the frontier, with a force of about 12,000 men, and it was under his guidance that the annual expeditions above described were conducted. In them he displayed rare soldierly qualities, and the Patháns, whilst they cannot but cordially hate the memory of their most tyrannical oppressor, still acknowledge his bravery and skill. The tribute levied from the Yusafzai was not fixed, but depended upon his will, and consisted of horses, hawks and such sums in cash as he could collect as a fee to escape a visitation. The tribute of horses was, in 1835, commuted to a tax of Rs. 4 per house. There is scarce a village, from the head of the Lundkhwár valley to the Indus, which was not burnt and plundered by this celebrated commander. In such awe were his visitations held that his name was used by mothers as a term of affright to hush their unruly children, and at the present day old grey beards love to point out the hills over which they were chased "like sheep by the Singh," and young men shew where their fathers fought and fell. Destruction was so certain that the few villages, which from the extreme difficulty of their position, were either passed by the enemy or, resisting attack, were but partially destroyed, claimed a triumph, and came to be looked upon as invincible—an arrogant boast, which has led them in later times to unusual boldness and effrontery. But the people of this unhappy country did not enjoy peace even during the respites which the withdrawal of the Sikhs afforded them. Indeed, it is hard to say whether they suffered most from those terrible but passing invasions, or from the bitter feuds which followed them, each chief waging petty warfare with his neighbour, either to find favour from the invaders, or to gratify personal feelings of hatred and revenge. Still they maintained their national institutions and customs, and the tribute, however extorted at the moment, was eventually made to fall with some measure of equality upon the members of each community.

Barakzai *sardárs'* intrigues in 1834.

Ranjít Singh appeared content to follow this line of policy for several years, and did not seek to render his trans-Indus position more permanent; but the Barakzai *sardárs* at Pesháwar brought their own ruin upon themselves by their intrigues which they set on foot with the Sikhs, for the overthrow of their brother, Dost Muhammad, of whose power at Kábul they had become jealous, and who had lately taken into his own hands the province of Jalálábád from his nephew Muhammad Zamán Khán, and had given further grounds of annoyance and alarm by causing himself to be publicly crowned at Kábul. It was in connection with such schemes that Hari Singh crossed the Indus in 1834, and took up a position at Chamkanni, with a force of 9,000 men. By a treaty entered into between Ranjít Singh and Sháh Shújá, Pesháwar was to be ceded to the former, but as the terms of the treaty were provisional upon the success of the latter in regaining his throne, no steps were taken to carry it out at that time, and there is no reason to suppose that Hari Singh had

Chapter II.

History.

then any other object than the collection of the tributes. But the *sardárs* were uneasy and suspicious of him, and had sent their families and property to Michni. Having realized his demands, Hari Singh prepared to withdraw to Attock, and sent to the *sardárs* to say that Nau Nihál Singh intended visiting the city on the following morning. Seeing him approach, with columns marching behind him, the *sardárs* fled to Shaikhán, a village on the Bára river near the hills. The party covering their retreat had some skirmishing with the Sikhs, but no preparations had been made for defence, and Hari Singh, finding himself unexpectedly master of Pesháwar, and declining all terms of reconciliation, disregarded the remonstrances of the *sardárs*, who shortly afterwards repaired to Jalálábád.

Barakzai *sardars'* intrigues in 1834.

Dost Muhammad had at that time proceeded to Kandahár to oppose Sháh Shújá, and the prospects of that king appeared so promising, that looking upon their brother's defeat as inevitable, they commenced preparations for taking possession of his provinces. But his usual fortune attended him, and Dost Muhammad returned to his capital victorious, and began, in concert with his brothers, to collect his forces with a view of driving the Sikhs from Pesháwar. He arrived in the Khaibar in April 1835, when the Afridi *maliks* and chiefs, who had in the meantime been receiving pay from the Sikhs, joined his cause, and he encamped at Shaikhan. There was much mistrust between him and Sultán Muhammad, whom he had told that Pesháwar, upon being restored to the family, would be given to Akbar Khán. The *sardár*, therefore, commenced intriguing with the Sikhs, who kept up negotiations, as Ranjít Singh had forbidden them to fight before his arrival. In the interim the Amir caused the hosts of Gházis, who accompanied his force, to attack the Sikhs, but they did not effect much, and Dost Muhammad shrank from a more regular contest. Ranjít Singh, arriving shortly afterwards, disposed his force, amounting to 40,000 men, in such a manner as completely to surround the Afghán camp, leaving the Amir no option but to fight or fly. Mistrusting his relations, and having but little confidence in his troops, he determined on the latter course. The Amir commenced his return to Kábul, which partook more of the character of a flight, his own baggage being plundered by the disappointed Gházis; and it was not till he had passed through the Khaibar that Sultán Muhammad's deceit became known to him. An offer was made to restore half of Pesháwar to Sultán Muhammad if Dost Muhammad returned to Kábul, and he appeared to agree to these terms, but detained the envoys sent from the Sikh camp, Faqir Aziz-ud-din and M. Harlan, pretending to consider them as hostages for the fulfilment of the promise, and making them over to Sultán Muhammad, whom he hoped thus to embroil with the Sikhs. His brother, however, was aware of his object, and conveyed them in safety to their camp, proceeding himself to Michni.

A. D. 1835. Dost Muhammad makes an unsuccessful attempt on Pesháwar.

In 1835 and 1836 the Sikhs were unmolested in Pesháwar, where Hari Singh continued in administrative charge of the province, and strengthened his position by building a new fortress on the site of the Bala Hissar, and placing garrisons in the district. A force was also cantoned in the plain north of Attock, between the Indus and Kábul rivers, protected by the fort of Jahangira, a place of some strength

The Sikh arrangements under Hari Singh during 1835-36.

Chapter II.

History.

The Sikh arrangements under Hari Singh during 1835-36.

on the bank of the latter river, and four miles above its junction with the Indus. But his rule could not fail of being unpopular amongst the Pathán proprietors, and many of the Arbábs fled to the hills, where they organized predatory bands, and made the roads of the district unsafe. Sultán Muhammad was in Bajaur devising schemes with the chief of that country, Mir Alim Khán, and the upper Mohmands for annoying the Sikhs in the Doába, at the same time keeping open a correspondence with Lahore in the hopes of recovering his province by negotiation. Ranjít Singh, feeling the difficulties and expense of maintaining his position at Pesháwar, deemed it prudent to lesson both by becoming reconciled to Sultán Muhammad, whom he at last sent for and restored to him in service *jágír* the *tappa* of Hashtnagar and half Doába, supposed to yield an income of two lakhs, together with Kohát and Hangú, where he did not dare to maintain his troops, the annual revenues of which were Rs. 1,50,000.

In 1836 Hari Singh occupies and builds a fort at Jamrúd.

At the latter end of 1836, Hari Singh determined to occupy the post of Jamrúd, at the mouth of the Khaibar, contrary to the advice of those native chiefs who were supposed to be the most friendly disposed towards him; the position is, indeed, a false one for the purpose of checking the tribes of the vicinity; being almost within the gorge, the garrison was exposed day and night to be harassed by an active and unseen enemy, without being able to effect anything in return; whilst parties from the hills could enter the plain to the north or south without meeting with obstruction; and the hollows and ravines in the neighbourhood afforded good shelter for bands always on the look-out to cut up some unfortunate straggler. But Hari Singh neglected the advice offered him through the contempt he held towards the whole Pathán nation, and his unwillingness to believe that they could for any time thwart him in his plans. The place was of considerable strength. A square of about 300 yards protected an octagonal fort, in the centre of which a natural mound strengthened with masonry forms a kind of citadel which commands the surrounding country. There is a fine *pakka* well inside the place upwards of 200 feet deep. The fortress was garrisoned, and the act seemed in the eyes of the Amir to be preliminary to a further advance, his fears being increased by the fact of his brothers, Sultán Muhammad and Pír Muhammad, being with Ranjít Singh at Lahore. He determined, therefore, to send an army to oppose the measure, and once more to attack the Sikhs. His minister, Mirza Sami Khán, was sent with the expedition, the forces being placed under the command of Muhammad Akbar Khán, who was accompanied by several others of the Amir's sons and chiefs of Kábul and its dependencies. He was influenced probably both by the misgivings he entertained as to ulterior designs, and partly in the hopes of gaining some advantages which would enable him to open negotiations for Pesháwar to the exclusion of his brother.

Amír Dost Muhammad determines to oppose the measure.

The battle fought on the 30th April 1837. Hari Singh shot. Flight of the Duránis.

The force arrived near Jamrúd in April 1837, and on the 30th of that month the Afgháns opened their guns upon the walls of the place. The reports of this action are various, and victory has been claimed by both parties. The facts seem to be that the artillery

fire laid the walls of the place in ruins, and that the Duránis were about to commence an assault when Hari Singh, who had held back until the enemy advanced, fell upon them with his wonted vigour, and without much loss broke their ranks and put them to flight, capturing 14 of their guns. The Duránis were soon dispersed in confusion, a small party only holding their ground with firmness under Afzal Khán; the other chiefs were separated and scattered in groups amongst the neighbouring ravines. The Sikhs, too, soon presuming upon victory, pressed in pursuit without maintaining much order, when Shams-ud-din Khán, a nephew of the Amir's, coming up with a fresh party, and being joined by some of the fugitives who rallied upon him, charged down upon their scattered masses, and drove them back, whilst in their turn Muhammad Akbar Khán, coming up with more troops, recaptured some of the guns. At this critical moment the Sikhs were disheartened by the fall of their intrepid leader, who was shot in charging round upon the Duráni right, and was borne off the field, the Sikhs withdrawing and entrenching themselves under the fort. Eleven of the 14 guns were recaptured, and three were taken from the Sikhs; each party, therefore, retained an equal number of trophies. But the battle can scarcely be said to have been drawn, for the Sikhs held their ground, and as their reinforcements appeared, the Duránis retired in disorder by night, and many of the troops were not checked till they had arrived at Kábul. Even if the victory had been more decided it would have been dearly purchased by the Sikhs, with the loss of so brave a warior as Hari Singh, who died the same night. Haji Khán had been despatched to operate in the Doába with levies from Bajaur, Kuner and the upper Momands, but he seems to have been playing false, and, in concert with the *sardárs* at Lahore, he made, indeed, a display of attacking Lehná Singh in Shabkadar, but is said to have accepted a bribe, and certainly retired hurriedly through the Mohmand country to Jalalábád. During his tenure of office in 1841, the revolt in Kábul took place, and the avenging army passed through Peshâwar under general Pollock.

The battle fought on the 30th April 1837. Hari Singh shot. Flight of the Duránis.

Sikh rule was now confirmed throughout the district, and hated and tyrannical though it was, was scarcely more odious to the people than that of the Duráni *sardárs*. The *jágírs* of the latter were confirmed to them: Sayad Muhammad retained Hashtnagar, and Pír Muhammad the Doába, whilst to Sultán Muhammad were assigned Kohát and Hangú. Ranjít Singh seemed much distressed at the death of his General, and it is said that he would probably have withdrawn from Peshâwar, could he have done so with honour. The position was one which caused him continued anxiety and vexation, and entailed upon him a large expenditure; for the local revenues were to a great extent absorbed in grants and *jágírs* As it was, he reduced the annoyance to a minimum by his reconciliation with the Barakzai *sardárs*, which released him from the charge of some of the most troubled portions of the district. Hashtnagar being in their hands, he avoided coming in contact with the Muhammadzais, amongst whom were many turbulent and discontented Chiefs, whilst he was equally freed from the raids of all the petty frontier tribes connected with Swát.

Sikh Administration.

Chapter II.
History.
Sikh Administration.

Similarly their presence in the Doába saved him in a great measure from the restless Mohmands; but as a portion of that *tappa* was retained, he placed a garrison at Shabkadar, a fortress built by Téj Singh in 1837. On the Khalíl and lower Mohmand frontiers, exposed to the Khaibaris and Afridis, he assigned large grants to the chief men (Arbábs) taking care that the villages immediately under the hills should form the greater part of their *jágírs*. Similar grants were made to the Chiefs of powerful and remote villages, from which the collection of revenue might otherwise have been attended with difficulty. Having in this manner secured himself on the frontier by foregoing the revenues, he was enabled to employ his strength in controlling the *tappas* nearer to Pesháwar. In Yusafzai he realized the revenue by the periodical despatch of brigades into the country, and thus kept the people under command without permanently locating troops or exercising that direct and constant management which would have embroiled him in a prolonged struggle with the tribes. Kohát being assigned to Sultán Muhammad, he refrained from interference with that close and savage district, or with the tribes occupying the pass connecting the two valleys. Hari Singh was at first succeeded by Sardar Téj Singh, who, however, was shortly relieved by General Avitabile. This officer retained the charge for about five years, from 1838 to 1842, acquiring as great a celebrity for his internal management of the district as Hari Singh had gained for his early conquests. On first taking possession of the country the Sikhs had left the land revenues much as they had been levied by the Duránis, but in 1837 the demand had been slightly raised by Téj Singh. The state of the district, however, prevented its full realization, and in 1838 General Avitabile again reduced it; but in the following year an increase of nearly one-fifth was made by the demand of the same amount in the Nanaksháhi currency, which had been formerly paid in that of Pesháwar. The revenue was thus raised to nearly nine lakhs of rupees. These rates continued in force with but little alteration till 1842, when Téj Singh, succeeding Avitabile, still further increased them. The revenues of Yusafzai being at the same time permanently fixed at a higher standard, and certain extra fees being imposed at the *dusserah*, the total demand was made up to close upon ten lakhs. No material or general change was subsequently made until the British annexation. From the detail of the Sikh revenues, and the permanent assignments made from them, given in another part of this account, it will be seen that during the last years of their rule the demand on account of land revenue was Rs. 9,96,944, subject to a deduction of Rs. 2,89,767, leaving a balance paid to government of Rs, 7,07,177. Of this, however, large sums were paid away to purchase rebellious subjects back to their allegiance, as sops to turbulent neighbours in the hills, or as retaining fees, under the name of *muwájib*, to powerful Chiefs who might be troublesome. Little more than five lakhs remained for general purposes, even if (as was never the case) the full demand had been realized. The revenue of *tappas* and villages was as a rule farmed to the Arbábs, and influential *malliks*, and in the absence of such men, the district was leased to Hindú capitalists. The agents of the latter class were spread over the country, employing all the means in their

power of extracting wealth from the cultivators, to whom a bare subsistence only was allowed. The nominal share of the produce claimed by the government was one-half, but extra fees were demanded, and advances had to be adjusted, which afforded a pretext for unlimited extortion. The revenues were mostly collected by these farmers in kind, so that at every stage of agricultural progress, the homes of the villagers were subject to the visitations of a swarm of rapacious and ill-paid menials. Strife and litigation were constant, for the Hindú farmers felt no compunction in transferring fields from hand to hand in prospect of greater gain, without regard to the ties which bound together Pathán communities, the breaking of which was the sure prelude of affray and bloodshed. At periods when irrigation was peculiarly required, customary divisions of the water were laid aside for those which favoured the interests of the more powerful farmers; and scarcely a season passed, in which the dams whence a cluster of canals diverged to different properties were not the scene of fierce conflicts, resulting in much loss of life. The realization of the revenues was irregular and precarious in the extreme. Arbábs and *maliks* constantly fled to the hills to evade the payment of revenue, and if powerful enough to conduct a system of predatory warfare on the border, were usually restored in a few years to their former position, favoured and enriched. Thus Muhammad Khan, Arbáb of Mohmand, who farmed the revenues of that *tappa* in 1837, fled to the hills of the Adamkhel Afridis, where he remained for four years. In his absence, a member of another branch of the family was appointed to the Arbábi, an agency with which the Sikhs could not dispense; but he was unable to control the tribe, and in 1840 Muhammad Khán was recalled by General Avitabile under the guarantee of a *jágír* of Rs. 6,000, subsequently increased by Téj Singh and Shér Singh to Rs. 8,550. The Khalíl Arbábs, absconding in like manner, were similarly recalled, receiving a *jágír* of Rs. 12,000, exclusive of their family possessions, the revenues of which were remitted to them under the name of *zarkharíd*.* Any attempt on the other hand to realize cash payments direct to Government was bitterly and violently resisted. The maintenance of internal order was scarcely attempted. Blood feuds between districts, villages, and families were unchecked or followed only by the levy of fines, when the Government officers deemed it prudent to interfere. Inroads and raids from beyond the frontier were of frequent occurrence, and remained unavenged, unless driven to desperation by their constant recurrence, the tribes of the plain would retaliate under the guidance of their own Arbábs and *maliks*. The Patháns, in fact, continued to govern themselves by the rude and sanguinary laws handed down to them by their forefathers, which offered to their wild natures a mode of avenging wrongs and adjusting disputes more congenial than the courts of

* This species of grant had arisen in the time of the Duránis, when certain nobles purchased estates, and obtained their release in perpetuity from the Government; in times of weakness and confusion, many large proprietors obtained similar exemptions for their ancestral estates, and when the Sikhs took possession of the province such claims were asserted on all sides. They were all disallowed, with the exception of those of some of the Arbábs, and a few others who still retain them.

Chapter II. History.

Sikh Administration.

infidels. The Government troops were stationed principally at Peshawar, out-posts being placed in the Shabkadar and Bára forts.*

The Sikhs were thus unable to adopt any systematic restraint of those deep-rooted habits and feelings which filled the district with crime and blood, and they refused to consider inroads not directed against themselves as tending to cast discredit on their rule. Yet, when punishment was in their power, it was signal, serving more to startle by its cruel severity than to deter by its justice and certainty. The frequent destruction of refractory villages kept up the fear of their arms, and the gibbets outside the city walls, which attracted the notice of our officers on the way to Kábul, spoke their own tale. Nor was this severity confined to the legitimate punishment of convicted malefactors; resort was had to every means which presented itself for the destruction of members of the hill tribes, who were looked upon under all circumstances as a race for extermination, and were invariably sent to the gallows upon apprehension. One of the grants upon which Karm-ud-din Khán of Chamkanni held his *jágír*, contained a stipulation that he should produce annually twenty Afridi heads; and in after days the old man used to relate without a blush the treacherous methods he was sometimes compelled to adopt in order to fulfil the conditions of his tenure. As permanent masters of the valley, the Sikhs found that attacks upon their hill neighbours could not be carried on with the same successful energy which marked their periodical invasions under Hari Singh. Such expeditions now were weaker and less enterprising, and attended, if not with actual reverses, still with such doubtful injury to the enemy and certain loss to themselves as to render their occurrence rare. For instance, Avitabile's troops, backed by the Mohmand militia and other levies, were unable to make an impression on the Adamkhel Afridis, and so far from effecting an approach to their strong villages of Bori and Jánákor, they failed to hold their ground on the low detached range in the plain, running from the village of Azakhel to Shamshattu. The attack upon Pranghar, again, in the Utmankhel hills, was equally abortive; and in an attempt to surprise Pandiali, they did not advance beyond Chingi, a small village immediately within the hills opposite Matta, where they destroyed a few huts, with a loss to themselves of between 400 and 500 men. At Peshawar, on the other hand, they considered themselves strongly seated, and during the troubled times which followed upon the death of Ranjít Singh, their force was greatly reduced; so that in 1841 when Colonel (then Captain) Mackeson was at Peshawar, and applied for a detachment of Sikh troops, General Avitabile assured him that he had not 2,000 available men.†

Avitabile's administration 1838-1842.

General Avitabile was relieved in 1842. Of his character there are several opinions, but he has left a name in the province for administrative talent, tarnished by excessive cruelty. The latter was,

* The latter is situated on the northern bank of the stream of the same name, and was constructed by the Sikhs principally to protect the dams at that point from which the irrigation canals of both Khalil and Mohmand districts are cut, and at which those tribes annually fought for their rights.

† The events of the Afghán campaigns in connection with which this application was made in no way affected this district, and need not be further alluded to in this place.

perhaps, in some measure forced upon him by the nature of the people whom he was called upon to control; and an officer who saw more of him than others, has said that he was naturally kind and warm-hearted, and exercised an unostentatious charity. Some of his known acts of personal revenge, on the other hand, independent of those performed in the discharge of his public duties, are scarcely to be reconciled with this favourable view of his character.

Avitabile's administration, 1838-1842.

Téj Singh, who succeeded him, retained the government for nearly four years, but nothing of local importance occurred in his time, beyond the capture of Darriyá Khán, a noted freebooter, at the village of Kandau, situated at the foot of the low hills, south of the Kohát Pass. He was sent to Lahore, and imprisoned in the fort of Govindgarh, whence he managed to effect his escape, and, regaining the hills, was favourably entertained by Sultán Muhammad. Téj Singh is described as wanting in energy and enterprize, but as a mild and just ruler. He was succeeded by Shér Singh, and, after the Sutlej campaign, by Goláb Singh on the part of the *darbár*, accompanied by Colonel G. Lawrence, as Assistant to the Resident at Lahore.

Téj Singh and Goláb Singh.

Colonel Lawrence was appointed a political assistant to the Resident at Lahore in 1846, and early in 1847 arrived at Pesháwar. His duties, as described by himself in his *Forty-five Years Service in India*, were to act as a friendly adviser to the native officials, but not to interfere directly, except when justice could not otherwise be obtained, and to control a large an effective garrison not less than one-third of the army of the *darbár*. During 1847 Mashokhel, Mashogagar, Mohmand villages and Babozai, a village securely situated in the hills in *tappa* Baezai, were coerced and compelled to pay up their revenue. During 1848-49 the Pesháwar troops mutinied, and Colonel Lawrence left Pesháwar for Kohát, where he was received with every demonstration of friendship by Sultán Muhammad Khán, who, with his habitual duplicity, at once entered into negotiations with the Sikhs, and on the first favourable opportunity handed Colonel Lawrence and his family over to them as prisoners. After the surrender of the Sikh army, Major Lawrence, in April 1849, was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Pesháwar under the Government of the Punjab. In December 1849 a force was sent into the Baczai *tappa* of the Yusafzai sub-division to punish some refractory Utmankhel landholders residing near the border. They were abetted by the independent border villages of Palli, Zomandi and Sher Khana, who were also punished, and the operations successfully brought to a close. In 1850 the Kohát Pass expedition was carried out under the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir C. Napier. Major Lawrence was present and accompanied the force. In the same year Major Lawrence was transferred as Political Agent to Meywar in Rájpútáná, and succeeded by Major Lumsden, now Sir H. B. Lumsden.

Col. G Lawrence appointed 1847.

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the Punjab Mutiny Report:—

The mutiny.

The Pesháwar division, comprising our north-western frontier and inhabited throughout by a turbulent and warlike people, as are also our neighbours beyond the border, was a source of the greatest anxiety throughout the

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

crisis. It is made up of the hills and valleys of the Kohát and Pesháwar districts, our most northerly possessions trans-Indus, and the mountainous district of Hazara cis-Indus. Kohát and Hazára were held by portions of the old Punjab Irregular Force, but in the valley of Pesháwar a strong garrison of the regular army had always been maintained. In the beginning of May 1857 perfect peace reigned in Hazára and Kohát. Their irritable and bigoted, but simple and manly races, had been tamed by easy revenue and kindly rule into that chronic contentment which is the nearest approach to loyalty that new conquerors can expect. In Pesháwar the same ease and prosperity prevailed; but for one crime or another almost every powerful tribe beyond the border was under a blockade*—the Mullikdin Afridis for the assassination of a police officer; the Zakkakhel Afridis and the Michni and Pindali Mohmands for a long course of raids and highway robberies; the Kukikhel Afridis for the murder of a British officer at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass; and the people of Totye for harbouring escaped criminals. The people of Punjtár, though not actually under ban, were known to be meditating mischief, and to have called in to their assistance a detachment of Hindustani fanatics from Sitana. Thus the valley of Pesháwar stood in a ring of repressed hostilities. Beyond that mountain ring lay the kingdom of Kábul, over the disastrous memories of which some treaties of friendship had freshly drawn a veil. Three British officers, Major H. Lumsden, Lieutenant P. Lumsden, and Doctor Bellew, were on a political mission at Kandahar—envoys to-day, but possible hostages to-morrow. On the western frontiers of Kandahár hovered the skirmishers of the Persian army, which had captured Herat in breach of treaties with the English. Such was the state of our north-west border when the electric telegraph flashed up intelligence of the beginning of the mutiny of the native army at Meerut. The events at Pesháwar will be read with a painful interest. This district contained a large native force which, for the most part, proved mutinous to the core, to restrain whom, and to keep in check the fierce spirits within and beyond our border, we had but few Europeans and other reliable troops; while it was very probable that on the slightest provocation the Amír of Kábul might pour an army through the Khaibar to overwhelm us when we were hardly in a condition to offer any opposition. How these difficulties were grappled with and overcome by the able officers, civil and military, then in authority at Pesháwar, how the disaffected Purbias and Hindustanis were rendered innocuous, and the wild mountaineers of the country enlisted on our side will be narrated in the following paragraphs. The late lamented Brigadier-General John Nicholson was at the time of the outbreak the Deputy Commissioner of this district. The military forces in the valley, consisting of about 2,800 Europeans and 8,000 native soldiers, of all arms,† with 18 field guns and a mountain battery, were commanded by Brigadier Sydney Cotton. It was on the night of the 11th May that intelligence arrived by telegraph from Delhi that sepoys from Meerut were burning the houses and killing the Europeans. This intelligence was confirmed on the following morning by a second message from Meerut, stating that the native troops were in open mutiny, and "the European troops under arms defending barracks!" Prompt measures were taken to meet the coming storm. A moveable column of

* This consists in forbiding an offending tribe to trade with Pesháwar, and imprisoning any member of it caught in the valley till the tribe submit.

† H. M.'s 27th, 70th and 87th regiments; 5th Light Cavalry; 7th, 10th and 18th Irregular Cavalry; Guides; 21st, 24th, 27th, 51st, 55th, and 64th Native Infantry; Khelat-i-Ghilzai regiment; and details of horse and foot artillery and mountain battery.

picked troops was determined on to put down mutiny in the Punjab. Orders were the same day (12th May) issued for the 55th Native Infantry to march from Nowshera and relieve the Guide Corps in charge of the fort of Mardan, and for the Guides, on being relieved, to join Her Majesty's 27th Foot at Nowshera. A rigid examination of sepoy correspondence in the post-office began. The 64th Native Infantry, of whom particularly suspicions were entertained, was broken up into three detachments and marched to different outposts as if to meet an expected raid of the Mohmands, and was thus much crippled for intrigue, whether in its own ranks or with other regiments. Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, commanding the Punjab Irregular Force, was invited over from Kohát to join in a council of war. Early on the following morning news was received of the disarming of the native troops at Lahore.

The council of war, composed of General Reed commanding the Peshawar Division, Brigadier Sydney Cotton, Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, Colonel Edwardes, and Colonel Nicholson, assembled on the forenoon of the 13th, and the following measures were determined on, all of which received the approval of the Chief Commissioner: 1*st*, the concentration of civil and military power in the Punjab by General Reed (the senior officer) assuming chief command and joining the head-quarters of the Chief Commissioner at Ráwalpindi, leaving Brigadier Cotton in command of Peshawar; 2*nd*, the organization of a moveable column of thoroughly reliable troops to assemble at Jhelam, and thence to take the field and put down mutiny wherever it might appear in the Punjab; 3*rd*, the removal of a doubtful sepoy garrison from the fort of Attock and the substitution of a reliable one in that important post; and, 4*th*, the levy of 100 Pathans under Fatteh Khán, Khattak, a tried soldier, to hold the Attock ferry, a vital point in the communication between Peshawar and the Punjab. Brigadier Chamberlain was also deputed to consult further with Sir John Lawrence, and an abstract of the above measures was telegraphed to every station in the Punjab. On the same day (the 13th) the Guide Corps marched from Mardan six hours after it got the order, and was at Attock (30 miles off) next morning, fully equipped for service—"a worthy beginning," writes Colonel Edwardes, "of one of the rapidest marches ever made by soldiers; "for, it being necessary to give General Anson every available man to "attempt the recovery of Delhi, the Guides were not kept for the moveable "column, but were pushed on to Delhi, a distance of 580 miles, or 50 regular "marches, which they accomplished in 21 marches with only three intervening "halts, and those made by order After thus marching 27 miles a day for "three weeks, the Guides reached Delhi on the 9th June, and three hours "afterwards engaged the enemy hand-to-hand, every officer being more or "less wounded." On the 16th a lithographed circular drawn up by Captain Bartlett, Cantonment Joint Magistrate, in the common character of sepoy correspondence, and in their own provincial dialect, containing an appeal to every loyal feeling and personal interest of the native soldiery, was despatched to many stations of the army, with how little effect is well known. On the same date General Reed and Brigadier Chamberlain joined the Chief Commissioner at Ráwalpindi, and Colonel Edwardes was also summoned to a conference. Before starting, he, with the consent of Sir John Lawrence, left orders with Colonel Nicholson to raise a force of 1,000 Multani horse. On the 18th permission was given to increase them to 2,000, for it soon became apparent that, whatever gave rise to the mutiny, it had settled down into a struggle for empire, and that Delhi must be regained at any cost. Dark news kept coming up from the

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

provinces, and a rapid change was observed in the native regiments. Precautions began. The treasure (about 24 lakhs) was removed from the centre of cantonments to the fort outside, where the magazine was, and a European garrison was placed in it. The Brigadier removed his headquarters to the Residency in the centre of cantonments, which was appointed as the rendezvous for all ladies and children on any alarm by day or night. The troops in garrison were divided into two brigades under the Colonels of the two European regiments, with guns attached to each. European guards were placed in the artillery lines, and a watch was set on every ferry of the Indus.

About this time intelligence was received that the 55th Native Infantry, both at Nowshera and Mardan, and the detachment of 10th Irregular Cavalry at the latter place, were in a state of discontent; a wing of Her Majesty's 24th Regiment was therefore ordered from Ráwalpindi. The native newspaper at Pesháwar having published an incendiary report that the Khelat-i-Ghilzai regiment had murdered its officers, its editor (a Persian) was immediately put in prison. The moveable column was now organized and placed under the command of Brigadier Chamberlain. Major Becher, Deputy Commissioner of Hazára, contributed to the column one of the two Irregular Infantry regiments stationed in Hazára. On the 21st May Colonel Edwardes returned to Pesháwar and found the aspect of affairs gloomy in the extreme. The most rancorous and seditious letters had been intercepted from Muhammadan bigots in Patna and Thanesar to soldiers of the 64th Native Infantry, revelling in the atrocities that had been committed in Hindustan on the men, women and children of the "Nazarenes," and sending them messages from their own mothers that they should emulate these deeds, and if they fell in the attempt they would at least go to heaven, and their deaths in such a case would be pleasant news at home. These letters also alluded to a long series of correspondence that had been going on, through the 64th Native Infantry, with the fanatics in Swát and Sitana. Another important letter which had been despatched by the 51st Native Infantry at Pesháwar to the 64th Native Infantry and the Khelat-i-Ghilzai regiment at the outposts had a few days before come to light. It ran as follows: "This letter is sent from the Pesháwar cantonment to the whole Heriot regiment" (name of the 64th Native Infantry). "May it reach the Subadar Bahadur." After some Hindú apostrophes, it proceeds, "for the rest, this letter is written to convey from the whole camp at Pesháwar obeisance and benediction" (from Brahman to Brahman) "and salutation and service" (from Musulmán to Musulmán) "to the whole regiments of Heriot and Khelat-i-Ghilzai. Further, the state of affairs here is thus, that on the 22nd day of the month the cartridges will be given to the Dubaran regiment; so do whatever seems to you proper. Again," (*i.e.*, it is repeated) "the cartridges will have to be bitten on the 22nd instant. Of this you are hereby informed. On reading this letter whatever your opinion is so reply. For considering you as our own, we have let you know beforehand. Therefore do as you think right. This is addressed to you by the whole regiment. O brothers! the religion of Hindús and Muhammadans is all one. Therefore all you soldiers should know this. Here all the sepoys are at the bidding of the *jemadar*, *subadar*-major, and *havildar*-major, all are discontented with this business, whether small or great. What more need be written? Do as you think best. High and low send their obeisance, benediction, salutation, and service." (Postscript by another hand.) "The above is the state of affairs here. In whatever way you can manage it, come into Pesháwar on the 21st instant. Thoroughly

understand that point. In fact, eat *there* and drink *here*" (a proverb for letting no delay intervene.) Strange to say, this letter was given up by the men of the 64th to their officers! There is very little doubt that the regiment was disaffected, and it is supposed that they acted thus because, being broken up into three detachments, and being unable to act together, and having ascertained that the Khelat-i-Ghilzai regiment would not act with them, they thought it better to endeavour to gain a name of loyalty for themselves. Another letter in the Persian character was found on the person of a *faqir* in a small bag (or housewife, for holding antimony and snuff) which was concealed under his armpit. It was as follows: "My beloved *mullah*, *salam*, salutations to you. After salutation and good wishes, this is the point, that instantly on receiving this, on the 2nd day of the festival of the *Eed*, you must—yes, must come here; and if it be easy, bring a few pounds of fruit with you. Now is the time; admit no fear into your heart. Such an opportunity will not again occur. Set out I enjoin you—signed Faquir Mullah Najim." There is no doubt that this was an invitation from Muhammadan conspirators in the garrison to Muhammadan conspirators at the outposts to come in with a few English officers' heads and join in a rising on the second day of the *Eed*, *i.e.*, the 26th May. Warned by these discoveries and by secret information, Colonel Nicholson endeavoured to raise levies through the chiefs of the district. But the time had passed. It became known that Delhi had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and men remembered Kábul. Not a hundred could be found to join so desperate a cause as ours. In this extremity Colonel Edwardes applied to Kohát for assistance, and Captain Henderson sent 100 levies under Bahadur Sher Khán, the Bangash Chief, who gathered about fifty more Afridi volunteers as he came through the Kohát Pass.* But the train of mutiny had been already fired. A detachment of the 55th Native Infantry, on duty at the Attock ferry, broke into open revolt and marched off towards Nowshera, being joined on the way by another detachment of the 24th Native Infantry which was escorting commissariat stores to Peshâwar, the two bands mustering about forty or fifty men. Intelligence of this having been sent by a horseman across country to Nowshera, the mutineers were met at the entrance of cantonments by a party of the 10th Irregular Cavalry, disarmed and taken prisoners. But no sooner did the companies of the 55th stationed in Nowshera see their comrades in this plight than they broke out and fired on the *sowars*, who dispersed. The mutineers (now some 200 strong) then broke open the regimental magazine, and, having supplied themselves with ammunition, rushed to the bridge-of-boats to cross the Kábul river and join the main body of the 55th at Mardan. The bridge had, however, already been broken up by the Executive Engineer, Lieutenant F. S. Taylor; so the sepoys betook them to the boats; some were drowned, but the majority got safe to the other bank. The *sowars* of the 10th Irregular Cavalry did not join the mutineers, but they did not act against them.

The news of this revolt did not reach Peshâwar until midnight, and it became evident that desperate measures must immediately be resorted to. It was resolved to disarm the native troops early the following morning, and to call in the aid of the mountaineers, to keep whom in order these very native troops had been maintained in the valley! This measure was determined on under the strenuous opposition of the commanding officers of the condemned corps; some had "implicit confidence" in their regiments; others advocated "conciliation"; while one officer predicted that his men

*These men guarded the *katcheries* and other public buildings at Peshâwar. "The incident," Colonel Edwardes truly remarks, "was as great a revolution as the mutiny of the Hindústaní Army."

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

"would attack the guns if called on to give up their muskets." Nevertheless, a parade was ordered at 7 A.M. on the morning of the 22nd, when it was determined to disarm the 5th Light Cavalry and the 24th, 27th and 51st regiments, Native Infantry. The other native troops in Peshâwar were the 21st Native Infantry (who were spared because it had declined to set a mutinous example, and because one infantry corps was indispensable for carrying on the duties of the station) and the 7th and 18th Irregular Cavalry; for at that early stage of the revolt it was hoped that they would be kept quiet by their stake in the service, and it would be easy (after disarming the other regiments) at any time to coerce them. It remained, however, to be seen whether the condemned regiments would submit to be disarmed, and if they resisted, whether the three excused regiments would not fraternise with them at once, and reduce the struggle to the simple issue of the black and white races. At the appointed hour the troops paraded under arms, the two European regiments (Her Majesty's 70th and 87th and the artillery taking up positions at the two ends of the cantonment, within sight of the parades, ready to enforce obedience if necessary, yet not so close as to provoke resistance. The sepoys were completely taken aback; they were allowed no time to consult; and isolated from each other no regiment was willing to commit itself. The whole laid down their arms; and it is said that, as the muskets and sabres were hurried into carts, here and there the spurs and swords of English officers fell sympathizingly on the pile. The result of this measure was at once apparent. As the civil officers rode to the disarming a very few chiefs and yeomen of the country attended them, apparently to see which way the tide would turn; "as we rode back," writes Colonel Edwardes, "friends were as thick as summer flies, and levies began from that moment to come in." As fast as they came in they were enrolled; and, humanly speaking, to the levying of this militia the preservation of the border at this critical period may be mainly ascribed. Afghâns, though fanatical, are yet more avaricious, and gladly brought their arms to our market. A large number of footmen were collected in a short time. Good horses are scarce in that country; "but the headmen of every village have two or three hacks, and the enlistment of their farm servants on these rips attached all the hamlets one by one to our cause, and got up quite a hearty feeling." Colonel Edwardes gives a graphic and amusing sketch of these enlistments. "Long before time," he writes, "crowds of candidates for employment thronged the gateways and overflowed into the garden; the jockeys of unconquerably vicious horses endeavoured to reduce them to a show of docility by galloping them furiously about till the critical moment of inspection came. At last, sick at heart from the receipt of a bad telegram from the province, but endeavouring to look happy, out I used to go and face some hundreds of the chiefs and yeomen of the country, all eager to gather from the Commissioner Sahib's countenance how the 'King of Delhi' was getting on. Then the first horseman would be brought up The beast perhaps would not move. The rider, the owner, and all the neighbours would assail him with whips, sticks, stones and Pushtu reproaches that might have moved a rock; but nothing would do till the attempt was given up, and the brute's head turned the other way, when he went off at a gallop amid roars of laughter from the Pathâns, who have the keenest perception of both fun and vice. No. 2 would make a shift to come up, but every man and boy in the crowd could see that he was lame on two or three legs. Then the argument began; and leg by leg, blemish by blemish, the animal was proved by a multitude of witnessess (who had known him for very many years) to be perfectly sound. And so the enlistment went on from day to day, affording immense occupa-

tion, profit, and amusement to the people, and answering a great many good ends. Now and then an orderly of the Hindústaní Irregular Cavalry, admirably armed and mounted, would pass the spot and mark his opinion of the 'levies' by a contemptuous smile. But nevertheless he told his comrades in the lines that the country people were all with the English, and that it was of no use to desert or to intrigue."

On the night of the disarming, about 250 of the sepoys of the 51st Native Infantry deserted and fled in every direction. They were promptly seized by the people of the district and the police, and extraordinary to say, were brought in alive though loaded with money. The ringleader, the *subadar*-major of the regiment, was hanged before the whole garrison on parade, and was the first mutineer executed at Pesháwar. Return we now to the Nowshera mutineers. It was soon reported that both the 55th and 10th Irregular Cavalry at Mardan were in a state of disaffection,—the former regiment having threatened to murder their officers, and the latter to "roast" Lieutenant Horne, the civil officer stationed there. As soon, therefore, as the disarming had been accomplished at Pesháwar, measures were taken to deal with the disaffected troops at Mardan. Major Vaughan's corps was ordered from Attock to Nowshera to protect the families of Her Majesty's 27th Regiment against any return of the mutineers, or any outbreak of the detachment of the 10th Irregulars. At 11 o'clock on the night of the 23rd a force of 300 European infantry, 250 Irregular Cavalry, horse levies and police, and 8 guns left Pesháwar under command of Colonel Chute, of Her Majesty's 70th, accompanied by Colonel Nicholson as political officer, and, after being joined by 200 Punjab Infantry from Nowshera under Major Vaughan, reached Mardan about sunrise of the 25th. But no sooner did this force appear in the distance than the 55th (with the exception of some 120 men) broke from the fort, and fled tumultuously towards the Swát hills. A pursuit was made by the whole force, but the mutineers had a long start and the ground favoured them. The guns and infantry were unable to come up with them; the Irregular Cavalry only pretended to act; but Colonel Nicholson (who was twenty hours in the saddle, and under a burning sun must have traversed seventy miles on that day) hurled himself on the fugitives with a handful of police *sowars* and did fearful execution amongst them; 150 dead bodies were numbered on their line of flight; thrice that number must have borne off wounds; 150 were taken prisoners. The people of the border rather favoured than opposed them, and about 500 made good their escape into Swát. The ultimate fate of these men is told in the Hazára Gazetteer. Colonel Spottiswoode, of the 55th, unable to endure the disgrace of the corps he had so loved and trusted, died by his own hand. It subsequently appeared that there had long been intrigues going on between the 55th and 64th Native Infantry and the 10th Irregular Cavalry and the Hindustani fanatics in Swát. And now another cloud seemed gathering on the frontier. The noted outlaw Ajun Khán came down to Prang, invited, as it was believed, by our Hindustaní troops* in the fort of Abazai, at the head of the Swát river. Nothing seemed more likely than that he would be joined by the fugitives of the 55th, come down to Abazai, and get the ford betrayed to him by the garrison, when the whole frontier would have been in a flame. But the danger was promptly met. The force under Colonel Chute was strengthened and moved rapidly to cover the threatened outposts. It was seen that, after disarming four regiments and routing

* These were detachments of 64th Native Infantry, Khelat-i-Ghilzais and 10th Irregular Cavalry; but the Ghilzais were not concerned in the conspiracy, and indeed remained staunch throughout.

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

another, we still had a force in the field standing on the aggressive. Ajun Khán withdrew into the hills, and our little force encamped on the border until Delhi should be regained. But Delhi was not to be recovered by a *coup de main*, and months of painful anxiety were yet to be endured.

About this time the Commissioner issued a proclamation that any deserter might be killed wherever found in the district, and the property on his person appropriated by the captors. About forty or fifty sepoys were killed in consequence in making for the Indus, and this destroyed all confidence between the soldiery and the people. Now, too, the Multani Pathán, from the Derájat began to arrive, and the aspect of affairs greatly to improve. It may be mentioned as an instance of the strange things that happened in those days, that a party of 300 of the Mullikdin Afridis (who were under embargo, as has been previously mentioned), marched into cantonments, armed to the teeth, and said they had come to fight for us and be forgiven. They formed the nucleus of one of the new Punjab regiments. The several detachmonts of the 64th at the outposts were one by one disarmed by the column under Colonels Chute and Nicholson, and by other forces sent out from cantonments for the purpose. Meanwhile General Cotton had not been idle. He had been dealing out stern justice to such of the mutineers as had openly committed themselves; and he now turned his attention to making the most of his reliable material. Volunteers from the Queen's infantry regiments were mounted and armed with the horses and weapons taken from the 5th Light Cavalry, under the denomination of the "Pesháwar Light Horse." Subsequently a limited number of selected *sowars* of the 5th Light Cavalry were associated with them. The Sikhs and other Punjabis were picked out of the several Hindustani regiments of the line and formed into a separate corps, which subsequently did good service. A battery of 9-pounder guns lying in the magazine was manned by European volunteers from the Queen's Infantry regiments and horsed by the horses of the 5th Light Cavalry. In like manner the native troop of horse artillery was replaced by European volunteers. A depôt was established for Afghán recruits, which was soon after embodied as the 18th regiment of Punjab Infantry. Three more Irregular Cavalry regiments were raised. Lastly, amongst the measures of new organization may be mentioned the "Land Transport Train" for the conveyance of the European soldiers with ease and comfort at that inclement season. A number of spare ammunition waggons were fitted up by the Ordnance Commissariat Officers, so that sixteen men could ride in each waggon and their arms be stowed away in the lockers on which they sat. The waggons were to be drawn by relays of commissariat bullocks at regular stages along the road; and it was found that, if necessary, the train could thus accomplish forty miles in one night. It proved of invaluable service when the autumnal sickness set in with more than its usual virulence. "The European soldiery viewed this thoughtful effort in their behalf with gratitude. It literally opened a way to them to get out of this fatal valley when prostrated by fever; and, though many fine fellows fell victims to the disease, there is no question that many were rescued from death by being removed to Ráwalpindi in the Land Transport Train." In the first year of our rule the border was chiefly disturbed by the hostility of the neighbouring country of Swát. An aged priest, called the Akhund, had hitherto been the pope of this country; but, looking at the English career in India as aggressive, he expected us to annex Swát as soon as we had settled at Pesháwar. On his suggestion, therefore, the Swátis created one Syad Akbar their king, and agreed to pay him a tithe of their corps to keep up soldiers for their defence. Providentially for us, this *Badshah* of Swát died on the 11th May, the very day that the first news of the mutiny

reached Pesháwar ; so that Swát was plunged into civil war, and thus prevented from making those aggressions on our territory which might otherwise have been looked for. Syad Mobarik Sháh, son of the deceased Syad Akbar, wished to succeed his father ; but the Swátis had grown tired of tithes. Both sides called in their friends and allies to settle the question by arms. It was at this juncture that the 500 fugitive sepoys of the 55th Native Infantry arrived in Swát. They were at once taken into the young king's service, but after fighting one battle demanded pay. The king, not being in funds, borrowed Rs. 1,000 from the leader of the sepoys and distributed them amongst the mutineers ; but when this supply was exhausted the full extent of their folly and misery seems to have struck the ringleader, for he blew out his own brains. The Akhund at this time having sided with the popular party, the 55th sepoys were dismissed and the young king expelled from Swát. The peace of our border being thus assured, the column returned to Pesháwar with Colonel Nicholson, who was, however, shortly after removed to the command of the Punjab moveable column, with the rank of Brigadier-General, in the room of General Chamberlain, appointed Adjutant General of the army. Colonel Nicholson's place as Deputy Commissioner of Pesháwar was filled by Captain James, then Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, who had previously had charge of the district for many years. On the break of Colonel Chute's column the fort of Mardan was garrisoned by a part of the 5th Punjab Infantry, and the Nowshera cantonment by the 4th Punjab Infantry.

It was now time to bring the 10th Irregulars to task. Part of this regiment was in Pesháwar, part in Nowshera. Both were simultaneously dealt with. On the 26th June their arms, horses, and property were taken from them and confiscated, and the whole of the men were hurried down to Attock, where they were dismissed with Rs. 2 each, just enough to carry them to their homes.* Shortly after, the disarmed regiments were not only deprived of their extra *batta*, but put upon subsistence allowance to their great disgust Two of the frontier outposts, forts Bára and Mackeson, were garrisoned by detachments of the 24th Native Infantry. It became known to the authorities that some of these men had been negotiating with the Afridis to pilot them through the hills to some ferry on the Indus. They were deprived of their arms and removed to cantonments ; the ringleader was blown from a gun ; and the outposts were garrisoned by Multanis. Scarcely had this little affair been disposed of when (on the 9th July) two of Afridis of the Sipah tribe entered the lines of the 18th Irregular Cavalry and presented to the *sowars* a letter from Mullik Surajudin, the head of their tribe, and one of the most powerful men in the Khaibar, offering an asylum in the hills to "any black men" (so the Hindustanis are called by the Afghán tribes), either of the cavalry or infantry, who chose to mutiny and come to him. The *sowars* at once took letter and emissaries to their commanding officer. The Sipah chief was called upon to explain ; he at once acknowledged the letter, and said "if the black men had come he meant to give them up !"

It has already been related how Sayad Mobarik Sháh and the mutineers of the 55th Native Infantry were dismissed from Swát and told to seek their fortune elsewhere. The mass of the latter made for Kashmír, and mostly perished by the way. The former, accompanied by the few remaining sepoys, proceeded to the valley of Punjtár, which adjoins the Yusafzai

* On the winding up of the accounts of this corps it was found to be Rs. 60,000 in debt, which all the horses, arms, property and arrears of pay did little more than cover.

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

side to the valley of Peshâwar. Here they found a colony of Hindûstani-Mahomedans of the Wahabi sect, headed by a *maulvi* named Inayat, who, in return for lands at a place called Mungul *thanna*, support the Khân of Punjtar in oppressing his own clan. Either this chief (Mokarab Khân) or the clan used to be constantly calling in our border officers to arbitrate their mutual disputes, and our decisions being generally in favour of the people, incurred for us the hatred of the Khan. Now was a good opportunity to vent it. He commenced by sending a party of Hindustanis and other vagabonds under his cousin, Mir Baz Khân, into our nearest villages and instigating them to "raise the standard of the prophet;" or in other words to refuse to pay their revenue. Major Vaughan, then commanding at Mardan, at once marched out (2nd July) and fell on them with about 400 horse and foot and 2 mountain guns, killed Mir Baz Khân, took prisoner a Rohilla leader, hanged him and the headman of the rebels, burnt two of the villages which had revolted, fined others, and thus extinguished this spark of mischief. Captain James at once proceeded to the spot, and by his judgment, courage and intelligence the Yusafzai border was saved at this period from a general rise. "The most disastrous tidings came daily from Hindustan, and echoed in still more alarming voices among these hills. Special messengers made their way from Delhi and proclaimed the extinction of the Nazarenes in the Moghul capital. Others came from Peshâwar and invited the Ghazis to descend and inflame the country. The Ghazis came with the *maulvis* at their head, and planted their standard (embroidered with butchery from the Koran) on the heights of Narinji. This mountain village was so strongly situated that the police scarcely dared to go near it; and it became a refuge for every evil-doer. Its inhabitants, about 400 in number, welcomed the *maulvi* with delight. The holy war seemed auspiciously opened with every requisite—a priest, a banner, a fastness, a howling crowd of bigots, and several days' provisions. But on the morning of the 21st July Captain James surprised them with a force of 800 horse and foot and 4 mountain guns, under command of Major Vaughan, and put them to a disastrous flight, which the *maulvi* headed so precipitately that his mystic banner remained in the hands of the infidels. No less than 50 or 60 of the Ghazis were slain, and the lower village of Narinji was destroyed." The weather was too hot and the troops too exhausted to destroy upper Narinji, to which place the *maulvi* shortly returned with a strong reinforcement. It was, however, assailed on the 3rd August by Captain James and Major Vaughan with 1,100 men. "The Ghazis had thrown up some formidable entrenchments, and danced and yelled as they saw a small column advancing in their front. Their shouts were answered by British cheers from a second column under Lieutenant Hoste, which had gained the heights by a bye-path, and now appeared above Narinji. A general flight took place; 30 of the Ghazis died running stoutly, and three were taken prisoners, amongst whom was a *maulvi* from Bareilly, who was summarily hanged. The village was then knocked down by elephants, and its towers blown up by the engineers; Narinji was at last destroyed." About this time a general restlessness was observed amongst the chiefs of the district, as well as amongst the native community. Delhi still held out, and doubts began to be entertained in regard to our ultimate success. The conduct of the moneyed classes in respect to the 6 per cent. loan, which was opened by order of the Financial Commissioner, may be instanced to show how completely native confidence was destroyed. The chief native gentlemen of the city were summoned by the Commissioner and consulted on this delicate topic. "They looked grave, made many wise remarks on the duty of everybody to help such a paternal government, affected an entire freedom from the

vulgar belief that the English *raj* was coming to an end; but it was clearly their opinion not a rupee would be subscribed." However, they undertook to sound the city corporation, and to bring up the chief capitalists next day. "About two hours after the appointed time," writes Colonel Edwardes, "the city magnates slunk in, each trying to make himself as small as possible, and to sit in any row except the front. That hyperbole of gratitude for the prosperity enjoyed under our shadow; that lavish presentation of trays of fruits and sugar-candy, with which these comfortable men formerly rolled into the presence, what had become of it! Alas, all vanished with our prestige! Behold a Government not only opening a loan, but imperatively needing it! Not a man would lend a farthing if he could help it." Seeing this, Colonel Edwardes commenced business by fining them all round for being late, and asked them what arrangements they proposed. After half an hour's consultation, they said "they thought 15,000 rupees might be raised with a little contrivance in the course of a few months." But the prestige of the Government was to be maintained, and the Commissioner informed the corporation that it was his intention to levy five lakhs towards the loan, the assessment of which he left to themselves, allowing them one day to arrange it. "They at once settled down to the details, but, as every house desired to throw an unfair share on its neighbour, I placed the assessment in the hands of the Government treasurer, Man Mall, who carried it out with a patience, firmness, good nature, and impartiality which I cannot too highly praise." Ultimately four lakhs were subscribed. These securities fell during the crisis so low as 26 per cent. discount, but subsequently rose nearly to par. The loan operated very favourably on public opinion. The people enjoyed seeing the money-lenders brought to book, and the latter at once became interested in the cause of good order. On the 27th July the reliable force in Peshâwar was much weakened by the march of the 4th Punjab Infantry for Delhi; but the new levies had now attained an importance which justified the withdrawal of that regiment. Shortly afterwards most of the tribes in disgrace on the border tendered their submission. Some anxiety was caused by rumours of a rising in the city on the feast of *Bukra-Id* (1st August), and of its being the intention of the British Government to make over the territories trans-Indus to the Amir of Kâbul. The fears caused by these reports were, however, allayed and nothing came of them.

A fresh source of anxiety was now produced (15th August) by a red-hot fanatic named Syad Amir, of the family of the known Kunur Badshahs, who came down into the Khaibar to incite the tribes to a holy war. "This man had all his life been a mendicant wandering in Peshâwar, Kâbul, Teheran, Constantinople and Mecca, and had just returned from one of these pilgrimages with a few thousand rupees, seed enough for a goodly harvest of devilry on the frontier. He planted his green flag at the village of Gaggri in the Peshâwar mouth of the Khaibar Pass, and sent summons to the Kukikhel *malliks* to leave me and join him in a crescentade. There is something delightful in the good conduct of thorough rascals. Who could have expected the Kukikhel to stick to their agreements of yesterday? But they did. They went back and told the Syad to be off. He cursed them well and frightened them a good deal with his Koran, flag, and various incantations; but the most he could get from them was five days' hospitality. He certainly made the most of his time, for his emissaries came to every regiment in Peshâwar with invitations to join him. * * * * At the end of the five days, when the Syad showed no symptoms of leaving, the Kukikhel pulled up the pickets of his horses and camels, and even irreverently shut up his flag; and the Syad left the Pass in a storm of Arabic." But we were not yet done with him. He

Chapter II. History. The Mutiny.

went to the next tribe under blockade, the Michni Mohmands, who received him with open arms; and again incendiary letters and messages were introduced amongst the troops. Great restlessness pervaded the disarmed regiments, and arms were supposed to be finding their way into the lines. General Cotton accordingly (on the 28th August) ordered the sepoys to be moved into tents, and the lines of every native regiment to be searched simultaneously. Weapons of every description were found. "Exasperated by the discovery of their plans, and by the taunts of the newly-raised Afridi regiments, who were carrying out the search, the 51st Native Infantry rushed upon the piled arms of the 18th Punjab Infantry, and sent messengers to all the other Hindústani regiments to tell them of the rise. For a few minutes a desperate struggle ensued. The 51st Native Infantry had been one of the finest sepoy corps in the service; and they took the new irregulars altogether by surprise. They got possession of several stands of arms, and used them well. * * * * But soon the Afridi soldiers seized their arms, and then began that memorable fusilade which commenced on the parade-ground at Pesháwar and ended at Jamrúd. General Cotton's arrangements for meeting such emergencies were perfect. Troops, horse and foot, were rapidly under arms, and in pursuit of the mutineers. Every civil officer turned out with his *posse comitatus* of levies or police, and in a quarter of an hour the whole country was covered with the chase." Out of a total of 871 men, some 60 or 70 are supposed to have reached the hills, 660 having either been killed in the pursuit, or subsequently executed by sentence of court-martial. The example had a good effect on the disarmed troops, who from that date underwent a marked change. About a fortnight after this event, Syad Amir with a body of Mohmands and 40 or 50 of the escaped 51st Sepoys, made a night attack on the fort of Michni. The garrison consisted of a detachment of the Khelat-i-Ghilzais, who had heretofore behaved well, but they were Hindústanis, and who could rely on them? The Mohmands opened on the fort with their *jazails*, but the 51st deserters, with a far more formidable weapon, appealed to every prejudice in the garrison, and screamed to them to betray the fort if they valued their country or their religion. A company of Afridi sepoys was hastily thrown into the citadel, but something more was needed. The Mohmands were in the highest excitement, sending the "fiery cross" to all their neighbours, and evidently determined to strike a blow for the recovery of a fief that they had forfeited some three years before. "We had no troops," writes Colonel Edwardes, "to move out against them. It was a time for yielding with as good a grace as could be assumed. I sent them word that they were just going the wrong way to work, and that, if they wanted to regain their confiscated privileges, they must render some marked service to the Government, instead of adding to the embarrassments of a passing crisis. For instance let them send the fanatic Syad Amir up to the Court of Kábul and there make him over to the Amir Dost Muhammád Khán. If they did that, and gave hostages for their good conduct till this war was over, I would gladly ask Government to reinstate them, though not on such favorable terms as formerly. Whatever the errors and shortcomings of Englishmen in the East may be they are undoubtedly believed. The Mohmands sent in their hostages to Pesháwar, packed the Syad off unceremoniously, and sat down quietly to wait for the return of peace in Hindústan." The narrative of events at Pesháwar during the crisis of 1857 is now ended; but the following statistics may prove interesting. To give a right idea of the way in which the military authorities met the crisis, it may be mentioned that no less than 523 military executions took place for mutiny and

desertion, of whom 20 were hanged, 44 blown from guns, and 459 shot by musketry.

Of irregular levies raised in Pesháwar during the crisis (irrespective of regiments of disciplined infantry raised by military officers), there were 1,228 horse and 1,101 foot, or a total of 2,324; and if we take into account the levies of the Derajat and Kohát, which were subsequently sent to Pesháwar, the total will be raised to 5,667, of whom 1,807 were sent to Hindústan for general service, where they behaved with credit. Perhaps nothing tended more than these levies to keep the frontier quiet. They absorbed all the idlers and adventurers of the Pesháwar valley, and made the campaign against the Hindústani mutineers a highly popular service. To use a common phrase of the natives, it put the people into one boat.

A list of Deputy Commissioners who have been appointed to the Pesháwar district since 1850.

Below is given a list of Deputy Commissioners who have officiated in the Pesháwar district between Major Lawrence's transfer in 1850 and 1876:—

No.	Name of Officer.	From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To
1	Captain James ...	Not traced.	22-2-59	(Major Nicholson was also Deputy Commissioner in 1857 The dates of the periods he officiated are not traceable.)					
2	Captain Graham ...	23-2-59	31-8-59	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Captain G. G. Shortt ...	1-9-59	30-9-59	9-5-60	28-6-60	13-8-60	26-10-60	17-9-62	21-11-62
4	Captain Coxe ...	18-6-60	12-8-60	27-10-60	26-9-61	25-10-61	15-9-62	23-11-62	25-2-63
5	Major Dwyer ...	27-9-61	24-10-61	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	Captain Munro ...	26-2-63	16-8-63	23-12-63	9-10-64	26-10-64	5-1-65	16-1-65	14-3-65
7	Lieut. Hudlestone ...	17-8-63	22-12-63	..	...	...	...	...	...
8	Captain Waterfield ...	10-10-64	25-10-64	18-2-68	5-4-71	...	...	...	...
9	Major Adams ...	6-1-65	15-1-65	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	D. C Macnabb, Esq ...	15-3-65	2-7-67	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Capt. E. G. Hastings ...	3-7-67	29-9-67	4-7-68	18-11-68	1-3-78	May '79	...	...
12	Captain Cavagnari ...	4-4-70	5-7-70	15-3-75	25-4-75	May '77	Aug '78	...	...
13	Major Ommanney ...	6-4-71	27-11-76	26-4-75	...	...	...	...	...
14	Captain Plowden ...	28-11-76	April '77	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	Mr. Jenkyns ...	Dec. '78	May '79	...	...	...	...	...	...
16	„ H. B. Beckett ...	1-6-79	July '81	Nov. '81	9-8-83	10-10-83	Still in charge.	...	...
17	„ H. T C. Robinson...	9-8-81	Oct. '81	...	...	...	...	...	...
18	„ A. Christie ...	10-8-83	9-10-83	...	...	...	...	...	...

Changes of *tahsíl* boundaries.

The *tahsíls* were in 1871 six in number, known as Pesháwar, Daudzai, Doába, Hashtnagar, Mardán, and Nowshera. This distribution was a very unequal one, and with the sanction of Government changes were made, the details of which can be seen in the statement in the margin; the change took effect from 1st April 1872.

Name of original *tahsíls*.	No. of villages.	Name of new *tahsíls*.	No. of villages.	Area in square miles.	Revenue.
Pesháwar ...	123	Pesháwar ...	155	374	2,56,434
Daudzai ...	127	Doába Daudzai	159	182	1,91,416
Doába ...	53				
Hashtnaggar...	74	Hashtnaggar	73	303	1,09,351
Yusafzai ...	197	Mardan ...	113	632	71,675
		Utman Bolak	101	465	1,07,018
Nowshera ...	151	Nowshera ...	125	548	74,070
Total ...	725	Total ...	725	2,504	8,09,964

In *tahsíl* Pesháwar there were 123 villages, 32 from *tahsíl* Nowshera are added, total 155. Doába and Daudzai now form a single *tahsíl*; 20 villages of Daudzai were included in the new Nowshera *tahsíl*. The village of Shahi Kulali to the north-east was included with Hashtnagar. In *tahsíl* Hashtnagar there were 74 villages; one village from Doába has been added, and two hamlets—Lunda and Khuni—across the river are included in the new

Chapter II. History.

Changes of *tahsíl* boundaries.

Nowshera *tahsíl*. In the Mardán *tahsíl* there were 197 villages, 85 composing *tappas* Razzar and Utmán-náma, and 16 from Nowshera from the new *tahsíl* of Utmán Bolak. The villages of Nowshera *tahsíl* were 151; 32 villages to the west were included in Peshawar; *tappa* Bolak-náma to the east (16 villages) was included in the new *tahsíl* of Utmán Bolak, and 22 villages to the north have been taken from Daudzai and Hashtnagar.

The chief features in the new distribution were the throwing of Doába and a great part of Daudzai *tahsíl* into one. *Tahsíl* Yúsafzai, an unmanageably large one, was divided into two, and a portion of Nowshera on the left bank of the Lunda below Nowshera added to the new *tahsíl*. Nowshera received some villages from Daudzai, while a portion of it running up past the city was included with the Hazúr *tahsíl*, and the natural boundary of the Bára taken. Hashtnagar remained very much as before.

Development since annexation.

Some conception of the development of the district since it came into our hands may be gathered from Table No. II, which gives some of the leading statistics for five-yearly periods, so far as they are available; while most of the other tables appended to this work give comparative figures for the last few years. In the case of Table No. II it is probable that the figures are not always strictly comparable, their basis not being the same in all cases from one period to another. But the figures may be accepted as showing in general terms the nature and extent of the advance made. The following figures show the revenue of the district at ten-yearly intervals so far as statistics are available:—

Imperial revenue, 1851-52, 1861-62, 1871-72, 1881-82.

Years	Land Revenue.			Other Revenue				
				Excise				
	Proper	Tributs.	Fluctuating	Spirits.	Drugs	Assessed Taxes	Stamps.	Miscellaneous.
	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs
1851-52 ...	7,39,544	...	3 778	47,022	18,929	...	7,954	21 684
1861-62 ..	6,19,144	...	13,409	37,098	21,561	..	38,886	...
1871 72 ..	6 23,270	...	12,793	31,218	29,930	23,893	63,033	...
1881-82 ...	6,82,058	...	17,809	65,161	32,657	7,265	117,577	...

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

SECTION A.—STATISTICAL.

Distribution of population.

Table No. V gives separate statistics for each *tahsíl* and for the whole district, of the distribution of population over towns and villages, over area and among houses and families, while the number of houses in each town is shown in Table No. XLIII. The statistics for the district as a whole give the following figures. Further information will be found in Chapter II of the Census Report of 1881:—

Percentage of total population who live in villages ...	Persons ...	...	78·27
	Males ...	...	76·04
	Females...	...	81·06
Average rural population per village	...	...	683
Average total population per village and town ...	...	...	859
Number of villages per 100 square miles... ...	...	...	28
Average distance from village to village, in miles ...	...	...	2·03
Density of population per square mile of ... Total area ...	Total population	...	287
	Rural population	...	185
Cultivated area ...	Total population	...	419
	Rural population	...	328
Culturable area ...	Total population	...	315
	Rural population	...	246
Number of resident families per occupied house ...	Villages	..	1·38
	Towns	..	1·50
Number of persons per occupied house	Villages	...	6·84
	Towns	...	6·46
Number of persons per resident family	Villages	...	4·95
	Towns	...	4·31

In his district report on the Census of 1881, the Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows:—

"The population of the Peshâwar *tahsíl* is dense in consequence of the situation of Peshâwar City and Cantonments in it. The density per square mile is 460 souls, but if the City and Cantonments are excluded, the density falls to 244 souls. In comparison with the population of *tahsíl* Doâba Daudzai it is less; the general area of the latter is irrigated and it is thickly populated. In *tahsíl* Utmân Bolak there are more irrigation wells than any *tahsíl* of this district, and the population of Utmân-náma is also thick in consequence of the fertility of its soil and the vicinity of the Indus. The hilly area of *tahsíl* Khâlsa Khattak is greater than that of any other *tahsíl*. Mardân comprises a large tract of *mairâ* or high unirrigated land, consequently in comparison with other *tahsíls* the population is very thin, but these *tahsíls* are becoming daily more populous, and there is further expectation of improvement in Mardân when the Swât Canal shall have been completed."

Migration and birth-place of population.

Table No. VI shows the principal districts and states with which the district has exchanged population, the number of migrants

Chapter III, A.

Statistical.

Migration and birth-place of population.

in each direction, and the distribution of immigrants by *tahsíls*. Further details will be found in Table XI, and in Supplementary Tables C to H of the Census Report for 1881, while the whole subject is discussed at length in Part II of Chapter III of the same report. The total gain and loss to the district by migration is shown in the margin. The total number of residents born out of the district is 77,723, of whom 58,005 are males and 19,718 females. The number of people born in the district and living in other parts of the Punjab is 12,389, of whom 8,861 are males and 3,528 females. The figures below show the general distribution of the population by birth-place :—

Proportion per mille of total population.	Gain.	Loss.
Persons ...	131	21
Males ...	176	27
Females ...	75	13

Born in	Proportion per mille of Resident Population.								
	Rural Population.			*Urban Population.*			*Total Population.*		
	Males	Females.	Persons.	Males	Females.	Persons	Males.	Females.	Persons
The district	895	949	921	595	825	682	823	926	869
The province	926	955	940	760	883	808	884	942	911
India	934	957	945	875	931	897	917	952	934
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	964	994	976	989	999	995

The following remarks on the migration to and from Pesháwar are taken from the Census Report :—

"The figures bear on their face marks of the attraction exercised by a large military and commercial centre, and of the extraordinary demand for labour that existed at the time of the Census owing to the Kábul campaign and the Railway and Swát canal works. Immigrants are more than six times as numerous as emigrants, and the exceedingly high proportion of males among the former show how largely temporary the immigration was ; nearly half the immigration was from Afghánistan ; and here the more moderate percentage of males shows that much of the movement is due to the settlement of border tribes just described under the Bannu district, and to the periodic migration alluded to in section 142. The immigration from the N.-W. Provinces is in connection with the troops ; that from Europe consists of course of the troops themselves, while that from Kashmír consists of famine fugitives in search of labour. Excepting these countries, the immigration into Pesháwar, though varied, is not extensive in any single case. The emigration is inconsiderable save to the railway and road works of Ráwalpindi and Kohát ; and to Hazára, probably in search of pasture."

The Deputy Commissioner, in discussing the figures, stated that the Afghán immigrants might be divided into three classes :—

(1.) Border men who hold land on both sides of the frontier, or have settled in the district.

(2.) Refugees from the first and second Afghán wars, and because of blood feuds.

(3.) Temporary immigrants, chiefly labourers from Hazára or Kábul, or Kochi traders who visit Pesháwar in the cold weather for purposes of traffic.

Increase and decrease of population.

The figures in the statement below show the population of the district as it stood at the three enumerations of 1855, 1868, and 1881:—

	Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females	Density per square mile.
Actuals ...	1855	450 099	254,981	195,118	180
	1868	523,152	286,006	237.146	209
	1881	592,674	329,524	263,150	237
Percentages	1868 on 1855 ...	116·2	112·2	121·5	116
	1881 on 1868 ...	113·3	115·2	111·0	114

The figures of the Census of 1855 are said to be very untrustworthy; and the increasing accuracy attained at successive enumerations is naturally especially marked in the frontier district. It will be seen that the annual increase of population per 10,000 since 1868 has been 110 for males, 80 for females, and 96 for persons, at which rate the male population would be doubled in 63·6 years, the female in 86·6 years, and the total population in 72·2 years.

Year.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1881 ...	592,7	329,5	363,2
1882 ...	598,4	333,1	265,3
1883 ...	604,2	336,8	267,4
1884 ..	610,0	340,5	269,6
1885 ...	615,9	344,2	271,7
1886 ...	621,8	348,0	273,9
1887 ...	627,8	351,8	276,1
1888 ...	633,9	355,7	278,3
1889 ...	640,0	359,5	280 6
1890 ...	646,2	363,5	282,8
1891 ...	652,4	367,5	285,1

Supposing the same rate of increase to hold good for the next ten years, the population for each year would be, in hundreds, as shown in the margin. But it is improbable that the rate of increase will be sustained. Part of the increase is probably due to increased accuracy of enumeration at each successive enumeration, a good test of which is afforded by the percentage of males to persons, which was 56·65 in 1855, 54·67 in 1868 and 55·60 in 1881. Part again is due to gain by migration, as already shown in the last paragraph; and this was especially the case in 1881, owing to the operations in Kábul which immediately preceded the Census, and which had collected a large number of temporary immigrants employed on transport duty and earthworks. The increase in urban population since 1868 has been smaller than that in rural population, the numbers living in 1881 for every 100 living in 1868, being 104 for urban and 113 for total population. This is probably due in part at least to the fact that many of the native troops were on leave after active service in Kábul, and were therefore enumerated in the villages where they lived. The populations of individual towns at the respective enumerations are shown under their several headings in Chapter VI. Within the district the increase of population since 1868 for the various *tahsíls* is shown in the margin. On this subject the Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in his report on the District Census of 1881: "The increase in Nowshera is "largely due to the number "of labourers collected upon "the Railway works in pro- "gress at the Census. Simi- "larly the increase in Hasht-

Tahsíl.	Total population.		Percentage of population of 1881 on that of 1868
	1868.	1881.	
Peshawar ...	167,989	172,031	103
Doába Daudzai	63,673	68,902	108
Hashtnagar ...	59,281	69,914	120
Nowshera ...	66,744	90,584	136
Mardan ...	70,389	83,939	119
Utmán Bolak ...	96,076	107,304	112
Total district ...	523,152	592 674	113

Chapter III, A. Statistical.

"nagar and Mardán is partly due to the work on the Swát Canal. "Moreover, several hamlets have been newly established, in which "families from across the border have settled, and have sunk a large "number of wells for irrigation purposes." The alterations in the boundaries of *tahsíls* made at the Regular Settlement render it impossible to make even an approximate comparison by *tahsíls* of the figures of 1855 and later enumerations.

Births and deaths.

Table No. XI shows the total number of births and deaths registered in the district for the five years from 1877 to 1881, and the births for 1880 and 1881, the only two years during which births have been recorded in rural districts. The distribution of the total deaths and of the deaths from fever for these five years over the twelve months of the year is shown in Tables Nos. XIA and XIB. The annual birth-rates per mille, calculated on the population of 1868, are shown in the margin.

	1880	1881
Males ...	6	12
Females ...	3	7
Persons ...	9	18

The figures below show the annual death-rates per mille since 1868, calculated on the population of that year:—

	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	Average.
Males	5	19	12	10	16	12	9	13	14	12	26	25	20	25	16
Females	4	17	10	8	15	11	7	13	13	10	24	21	17	23	14
Persons	5	18	11	9	15	12	8	13	14	11	26	24	18	24	15

The registration is still imperfect, though it is yearly improving; but the figures always fall short of the facts, and the fluctuations probably correspond, allowing for a regular increase due to improved registration, fairly closely with the actual fluctuations in the births and deaths. The historical retrospect which forms the first part of Chapter III of the Census Report of 1881, and especially the annual chronicle from 1849 to 1881 which will be found at page 56 of that report, throw some light on the fluctuations. Such further details as to birth and death rates in individual towns as are available will be found in Table No. XLIV, and under the headings of the several towns in Chapter VI.

Age, sex, and civil condition.

The figures for age, sex, and civil condition are given in great detail in Tables IV to VII of the Census Report of 1881, while the numbers of the sexes for each religion will be found in Table No. VII appended to the present work. The age statistics must be taken subject to limitations which will be found fully discussed in Chapter VII of the Census Report. Their value rapidly diminishes as the numbers dealt with become smaller; and it is unnecessary here to give actual figures, or any statistics for *tahsíls*. The following figures show the distribution by age of every 10,000 of the population according to the Census figures:—

	0—1	1—2	2—3	3—4	4—5	0—5	5—10	10—15	15—20
Persons	236	185	264	305	338	1,328	1,459	1,009	805
Males	223	171	238	278	314	1,223	1,445	1,092	807
Females... ...	253	202	297	339	368	1,459	1,477	905	803

	20—25	25—30	30—35	35—40	40—45	45—50	50—55	55—60	over 60
Persons	951	862	1,032	404	750	227	483	99	570
Males	994	915	1,017	487	704	246	480	109	591
Females ..	972	843	1,051	362	806	205	487	87	544

The number of males among every 10,000 of both sexes is shown in the margin. The decrease at each successive enumeration is almost certainly due to greater accuracy of enumeration. In the Census of 1881, the number of females per 1,000 males in the earlier years of life was found to be as shown in the next margin.

Population.		Villages.	Towns.	Total.
All religions	1855	.....	.....	5,665
	1868	.....	.. ...	5,467
	1881	5,402	6,131	5,560
Hindus ...	1881	6,357	7,003	6,571
Sikhs ...	1881	7,257	6,898	8,337
Musalmáns	1881	5,364	5,747	5,433
Christians ...	1881	....	8,916	8,915

Year of life.	All religions.	Hindus.	Musalmáns.
0—1	908	856	913
1—2	939	996	937
2—3	996	1,079	993
3—4	972	...	...
4—5	940	...	...

On the subject of the proportion of the sexes, the Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in his report on the Census of the district:—

"In this district the number of males is 20·14 per cent. more than females. One cause of this excess is that most of the soldiers serving in this district have not their families with them. Thus the male population of the Cantonments of the district exceeds the female by 19,544 or 77·50 per cent.; and if this number is distributed over the whole male population the percentage falls to 5 93. The excess of males over females is mainly attributable to the above cause, but it is also partly attributable to the immigration from other districts of labourers on Railways and Canal works."

The figures for civil condition are given in Table No. X, which shows the actual number of single, married and widowed for each sex in each religion, and also the distribution by civil condition of the total number of each sex in each age-period.

Infirmities.

Table No. XII shows the number of insane, blind, deaf-mutes, and lepers in the district in each religion. The proportions per 10,000 of either sex for each of these infirmities are shown in the margin. Tables XIV to XVII of the Census Report for 1881 give further details of the age and religion of the infirm.

Infirmity.	Males.	Females.
Insane ...	7	3
Blind ...	27	30
Deaf and dumb ..	9	4
Leprous ...	2	1

In the district Census Report for 1881, the Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows on the subject:—

"Total blindness is probably the commonest infirmity met with, and is in the majority of cases the result of small-pox. It also occurs as a result of ophthalmia in its various forms; this disease is fostered by the unfavourable sanitary conditions under which the people live. Cataract is not common. Glaucoma is also a cause of blindness. People suffering from this form of eye disease do not generally apply for medical aid sufficiently early to permit of much being done towards effecting a cure. It is exceptional to find any one afflicted with combined deafness and dumbness, and it is probable that the condition is very rare. Leprosy or *kohri* is not common in this district. There are 18 lepers who from time to time apply at the City Hospital for relief. There is generally a history of poverty and diet in these cases and in several of them there has been a previous attack of syphilis. Insanity does not exist to any considerable extent. During the past 12 months only three lunatics, natives of this district, have come under observation. The disease has generally been

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

attributed by the friends of the insane to a severe attack of fever or to injuries of the head. It is difficult to place any reliance on the family history in such cases. No case of cretinism has recently come under notice."

European and Eurasian population.

The figures given below show the composition of the Christian population, and the respective numbers who returned their birth-place and their language as European. They are taken from Tables IIIA, IX, and XI of the Census Report for 1881:—

Details.		Males.	Females.	Persons.
Races of Christian population	Europeans and Americans	3,557	397	3,954
	Eurasians	39	25	64
	Native Christians	50	20	70
	Total Christians	3,646	442	4,088
Language	English	3,571	407	3,978
	Other European languages	24	3	27
	Total European languages	3,595	410	4,005
Birth-place	British Isles	2,875	265	3,140
	Other European countries	18	4	22
	Total European countries	2,893	269	3,162

But the figures for the races of Christians, which are discussed in Part VII of Chapter IV of the Census Report, are very untrustworthy; and it is certain that many who were really Eurasians returned themselves as Europeans. The figures for European birth-place are also incomplete, as many Europeans made entries, probably names of villages and the like, which, though they were almost certainly English, could not be identified, and were therefore classed as "doubtful and unspecified." The number of troops stationed in the district is given in Chap. V, and the distribution of European and Eurasian Christians by *tahsíls* is shown in Table No. VII.

SECTION B.—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Villages.

The division and distribution of the lands forming the village site is effected in the same manner as in the case of the cultivated fields, a separate quarter (*kandi*) being apportioned to every *khel* or clan, and within the clan to every section or sub-section. Each *kandi* is a collection of separate tenements of the individual families forming a *khel* or clan section. Each tenement is termed *kandar*, and consists of the house, termed *kor* and the court-yard, termed *gholai*; these shelter the family as well as their dependants and cattle. Each *kandi* has its own *malik* or chief, whose authority is confined to it. His duties are to maintain order, settle disputes amongst the householders of his *kandi*, to collect the revenue, and see to the fair distribution of the crops, &c. Each *malik* is subordinate to the chief or Khán of the tribe; to him he makes his reports, and from him he receives his orders. Each *kandi* has its own mosque or *jumáat*, its own assembly-room, or *hujra*, and in villages beyond the border, its own tower of defence, or *burj*. The *jumáat* is under the care of an establishment of priests (*mullá*h) who are subordinate to a leader, styled *imám*. They are

Villages.

supported by rent-free lands attached to the mosque, and receive besides daily supplies of food from the residents of their *kandi*. Their duties are to lead the congregation in their prayers, instruct the people in the doctrines and observances of Islám, to teach the young their belief and prayers, to perform marriage, circumcision, and burial services when required, to fix the times of the appointed feasts and fasts, &c., &c. On each occasion of a marriage and other services, they receive presents of money, cattle, food, or clothes, &c., according to the means of the donor. The *hujra* is a public room with court-yard and stables attached. In most instances it is the property of the *malik* of the *kandi* who is expected to feed and shelter all visitors and travellers; beds, bedding, and forage are provided by the *fakírs* or *hamsayahs* in rotation. In the *hujra* the *malik* meets the residents of the *kandi* for the discussion and settlement of their public business. Here also the residents and visitors assemble to smoke, gossip, learn the news of the day, and discuss politics. Here too guests are entertained; and loose characters of the village more frequently pass the whole night at the *hujra* than in their own houses. It is also the sleeping place of all the bachelors of the *kandi;* for, as is customary with the Afgháns, no friend, nor traveller, nor relative, a bachelor at manhood, is allowed to sleep in the house. This custom is possibly owing to the construction of the houses, which provide no privacy for the women. The *burj*, or watch-tower, now chiefly exists in villages beyond the border. It is always attached to the house of the *malik*, and is in constant use as a place of refuge and observation in case of feuds between the different *khels* of a village community, as well as against enemies outside. But they are still to be found in our territory, survivals from days gone by when one ward was pitted against another in deadly feud, or when the whole village had to watch against the advent of a neighbouring clan, or of Sikh officials. Many of them have now been converted into cattle sheds or ordinary dwelling houses. In villages where a Khán resides, there is, besides the *burj* of each *kandi* a fort or *garrai*, which encloses the whole of the Khán's *kandi*. The villages have for the most part an air of great comfort, the court-yards being large, with, in most instances, a patch of vegetables or a clump of mulberries in the enclosure; the mosques and *hujras* are chiefly in the outskirts, with wells and groves in the vicinity. In most villages there is a good supply of running water, which not only encourages plantations of this kind, but saves the female portion of the community the labour of grinding, as water-mills are universal, and hand-mills unknown.

Habitations.

The dwellings of the villagers are mostly constructed of mud, one-storeyed and not higher than ten feet. In the Khattak hills, stone, of which there is plenty, cemented with mud, and unplastered is used; it gives the houses a cleaner and more lasting appearance. Most dwelling houses (*kor*) are within a walled enclosure, known as the *golai*, one side of which is taken up by the dwelling house. Inside the house will usually be found a *kandu* (corn bin) made of clay; this contains the corn supply for immediate use; some beds (*kat*), stools (*katkai*), a swing cot or two (*zango*), according to the number of children, a clothes chest or safe made of wood (*tanrai*), some

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Habitations.

spindles (*tsarkhe*), and earthen dishes of various size. In the enclosure (*golai*) there is often a shed for the cattle, and in Yusafzai, Hashtnagar and Nowshera always a large corn bin called *khamba;* this is raised from the ground, in shape like a bathing machine, and contains the year's supply of grain; it is from this the *kandu* inside is replenished. The mosques of a village are easily recognizable by the groups of *tálib-ilms*, or seekers after learning usually to be found carrying on their studies in the enclosure in front of the mosque; at the corner of the mosques there are small walled-in enclosures, where ablutions previous to prayer are made; the corners of the roof of the mosque are frequently decorated with *márkhor* horns. The *hujra*, or guest house, which, as a rule, attaches to each section of the village, is also easily distinguishable by the number of *charpoys* in front of it, and the large *chillam* which is quickly filled for the passer-by. The houses of the headmen too are generally distinguishable by their greater privacy, and more substantial look; they have sometimes small fruit and flower gardens attached to them.

Food.

The food of the common people is of a most simple character—during the summer, a mixture of wheat and barley cakes, vegetables, pot herbs and wild fruits, milk in its various forms, but seldom meat. They have two meals, one eaten about 10 o'clock *(dodai waqt)*; if any is left it is finished in the afternoon at 2 o'clock *(mas pakkhín)*. The evening meal or the *makham dodai* is usually taken about 8 o'clock. The better class keep the same hours of meals but live better, and indulge frequently in meat, fowls, and rice. Sugar and the wild honey found in the Khattak hills are in great demand and much used. The average annual consumption of food by a family of five persons, including an old man and two children, was estimated in seers for the Famine Report of 1879 as shown in the margin.

Grains.	Agriculturists	Non-agriculturists
Wheat ...	600	540
Barley ...	240	320
Indian Corn	800	600
Masur ...	80	62
Múng ...	60	60
Bákila ...	40	40
Total ...	1,820	1,642

Hospitality.

The hospitality for which Afgháns are notorious is carried to such extremes as to cripple their means of paying the revenue; an unlimited supply of beds, blankets, and food is the mark of a true Afghán *malik;* one who resorts to economical arrangements in his household is lightly esteemed, however excellent his character may be in other respects; so also is the *malik* who keeps food of two qualities, the superior for his own use, the inferior for that of his guests.

Dress.

The dress of the agriculturists consists of a *pagri* of white cloth (*patkai*), a loose coat (*khálka*) or shirt* (*kamíz*), and loose *paijamas* (*partug*) tied round the body by a running string or band; the whole outfit is made of coarse country cotton cloth, costing between Rs. 2 and Rs. 2-8; the coats are often coloured blue to save washing, and are worn sometimes till they drop off. The chiefs and well-to-do wear the same pattern of clothes, but they are made of finer materials, and in the winter Peshawar *lungis* or scarves take the place of *malmal* or *khassa pagris*. Sheepskin coats (*postíns*) are worn in

* This costs less.

the winter by the poorer people; they last for three years and are obtainable at prices varying from Rs. 3 to 15. The better class generally wear *chogas*, the prices of which vary between Rs. 10, 12 and 14. Stockings are not in general wear, except by a few of the better class in the cold weather. The common shoes are of thick red leather, and cost Rs. 1 or 1-4 a pair. The better class wear a better made shoe, inlaid with gold thread. Garhi Amanzai and 'Akora are noted for the good shoes made there. Some of the city people in the winter wear inner shoes (*mauzah*) of soft yellow leather, over which the ordinary shoes are worn. A leather belt (*mala band*), to which is attached the *talwar* and pistol, is always worn on a journey by those who have weapons to carry: a small ring (silver) is worn by many on the little finger of the right hand, on the stone of which is engraved the wearer's name. Some of the turbans are of vast dimensions. Skull caps and the sugar-loaf shaped cap (*kulai*) are worn by a few. The head is always shaved. The dress of the women only differs from that of the men in the substitution of the *oranai*, or chequered sheet, for the *patka*. This sheet is of the same material and pattern for the whole tribe, with which it varies.

Common usages of society.

The people are frank and open, the better class extremely courteous and easy in their manners. The inhabitants of the villages near the border, who are less thrown in contact with us, are sometimes very plain, and show little distinction of rank, but this is only ignorance, and not intended. All show great outward reverence for old age. Their greetings and salutations are numerous,—*saldm alai kum*, and the reply *wd alaí kum salám* are always interchanged. It is not unusual for friends to have a mutual embrace (*bara gara*), during which each passes his head three times from right to left of the other's breast; during this follows a string of inquiries, made with great rapidity, for example, *jor-ye* (are you well), *khajor-ye* (are you quite well), *khushal-ye* (are you happy), *takra-ye* (are you strong), *kha takra-ye* (are you quite strong), *tazah-ye* (are you cheerful), *kor khair dai* (are they well at home), *zamin-de jordi* (are your sons well), &c., &c. The common salutations are, *starai mashai* (be not wearied), *makhwaregai* (may you not be poor), *harkala rashai* (come ever), *loe sha* (be great); this is the reply usually given to the salutation of a boy. When a person enters a house or *hujra* he would be greeted with *harkala rasha*, to which he would reply *harkala osai* (may you always abide). Gratitude is expressed by *Khudai de obakha* (God pardon you), or, *pa izzat osai* (live in honour), *bache de loe shai* (may your sons grow up), *Khudai de osata* (God preserve you). The speeding salutations are *Khudai pa aman* (to the trust of God); he would reply *Khudai dar sara neki-oka* (may God do good to you). Falsehood in *kachery* is not looked upon as wrong, when balanced against saving a friend, or paying out an enemy. Evidence given by witnesses has to be accepted with the greatest caution. In their domestic habits they are very simple. Their dwellings are mean mud and lath cabins, full of vermin and foul air, and surrounded by cesspools and heaps of every kind of filth. In their diet they are frugal and often abstemious, very few are intemperate. Their food is plain and wholesome, and almost entirely the produce of their cattle and lands.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Common usages of society.

Milk in its various forms, the common cereals, vegetables, and meats, together with pot-herbs and edible fruits that grow wild, constitute the diet of the mass of the people. Sugar, and in some parts wild honey, is much used, but spirits are quite unknown. Tea is very little used and only by the rich; coffee is not even known by name. Tobacco for chewing, smoking, and snuffing, is in too general use. Opium also is used to some extent, and so are the different preparations of Indian hemp, but mostly in the plain country and only amongst the abandoned and debauched, who are pointed at as disreputable characters and a disgrace to their names. In their persons the Patháns are singularly indifferent to cleanliness. Their ablutions seldom extend beyond the *aodas* or *wúzu* appointed as the necessary purification before prayers. Many wear clothes steeped in indigo to hide the dirt.

Amusements.

Most Afghán tribes have a natural fondness for field sports, such as hawking, hunting with dogs, and shooting. Frequently they combine with these pleasures the more exciting business of highway robbery, cattle-lifting, and burglary. With many these are the ordinary means of livelihood; otherwise the population is more or less wholly devoted to the care of their flocks and fields. Many take military service under the neighbouring governments, but none ever engage in the industrial or mechanical trades, and few have the capacity to manage the business of a merchant. All such are the special occupations of different classes of the vassal population. At home the Patháns are of a lively and merry disposition, and are very fond of music and poetry; to enjoy these they have frequent social gatherings at their village *hujras*. The poetry possesses some merit, and is worthy of attention from us by way of encouragement. Their music, too, though noisy, and the result of vigorous performance, is not without its own peculiar merits, to judge from its exciting effects on a Pathán audience. In all cases the professional musicians belong to a distinct class, termed *dúm* and *mirási*. Their instruments are the *nagára* or drum, the *surnai*, or flageolet, and the *rabáb*, or violin. The last is often accompanied vocally. The *mirásis* are improvisatores and actors. Their recitations are of an epic character, generally some departed warrior of the tribe being the hero; but love songs and burlesques are also common subjects. Some of the last named are clever and witty, and do not spare the British officials who have become noted in the country. Often, however, both the recitation and acting are of quite a different character. The obscenity and beastliness of these equally with the others draw loud plaudits from the audience.

The women.

In their social gatherings and amusements, the men are never joined by their women. These have their own separate gatherings, where they sing and dance to the music of the *dúms* in an adjoining court, and on Fridays it is the custom for them to visit the graveyards The women, however, except on the regular festival days, to be mentioned further on, have few gatherings for amusement or recreation. They are mostly occupied with their several household duties, but find time also to visit each other from house to house, gossip, talk scandal, and do other quarrelling. With rare exceptions they are entirely uneducated, and are described as coarse and

The women.

obscene in their conversation. They are kept as far as possible secluded; in public they are silent; and even the poorest classes always veil themselves before strangers. They are said to possess a martial spirit, and often urge their men to many a deed of blood to gratify their own private piques, or to resent some imagined or real slur on their honour. They exercise great influence over their husbands. Their daily occupations are the usual domestic duties of the household, such as fetching water, preparing butter, grinding corn, cooking, spinning cotton, &c. Often the wealthier classes engage in the lighter of these duties by way of occupation, but more frequently they are better employed with their dress, jewellery, and personal adornments, such as plaiting the hair, dyeing the hands and feet with *nákriza*, or *hinna*, and painting the eyelids with *ránga* or *surma*. The mass of the people have only one wife; but Kháns and wealthy men indulge themselves to the legal limit. Patháns are most suspicious and jealous of their women. It is quite enough for a man to see his wife speaking to a stranger to arouse his passion. He at once suspects her fidelity, and straightway maltreats or murders her. The women are never allowed in public to associate with the men, though amongst themselves they enjoy a certain amount of liberty. The abuse or slander of a man's female relations is only to be wiped out in the blood of the slanderer; and not unfrequently the slandered one, whether the calumny be deserved or not, is murdered to begin with. The Patháns, though so jealous of them, treat their women with no respect or confidence, but look on them as so much property in which their honour is invested, and to be watched and punished accordingly. Nevertheless elopements, termed *matiza*, are one of the most fruitful cause of feuds.

Games.

In Yusafzai and Hashtnagar a game called *skhai* is much played; it consists in holding up the left foot in the right hand, and hopping on one leg against an adversary; sides are made. Fighting rams and quails are amusements also much admired.

Birth.

The birth of a male child is an occasion of great rejoicing and feasting amongst the friends of the happy mother, who does not, however, partake in them till the forty days of her purification be accomplished; for during this period she is kept strictly secluded, ministered to by female friends, and made to observe the most absurdly superstitious rites before the final ablution that restores her once more to society. The birth of a female child is in no way noticed except as a misfortune.

Childhood.

About the eighth year, often much earlier, the boy is admitted into the fold of the Muhammadan church by the outward sign of circumcision. The ceremony involves some days of music, feasting, and rejoicing. After the final dinner, it is customary for the guests to contribute money, according to their means, for the expenses of the entertainment. The general result is profitable to the host if a man of rank; but it is otherwise with the poor. After circumcision, the young Pathán is taught his creed and the ordinary forms of prayer, and is instructed in the principal tenets and observances of the Muhammadan religion and this, with but few exceptions, is all the education he receives. At twelve or fourteen years of age, he

Manhood.

joins his father in out-door work, either tending the flock or working

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

in the fields. From this time, also, he is obliged to sleep away from the rest of the family, and either spends the night in the *hujra* of his *kandi* with the rest of the bachelors, or if the season allows of it, sleeps at his father's *khirman*, or threshing-floor, or his *harat* or irrigation well. At twenty years of age, or thereabouts, he receives a portion of his father's land as his share of the patrimony, and seeks a wife if about to settle at home; otherwise he leaves his home and seeks a livelihood by military service in foreign countries.

Old age.

In the decline of life, he returns to his home, resumes his share in the land, and spends the rest of his days; if old, in idle ease, under the shade of his own fig tree, and seeks to make amends for the sins of his youth by a punctual performance of the stated prayers and extra devotions at the mosque of his forefathers. His last wishes are to be buried in the family grave in his own village cemetery. The Pathán are very particular on this point, and it is considered a point of honour to convey the bones or bodies of relatives dying in foreign lands, or distant places, to the village graveyard. If already buried in another place, the relatives travel down, however far it may be, and, exhuming the body, carry up the bones for interment in their own village burial ground.

Marriage contracts.

The marriages of the Afgháns of the district are usually determined by considerations of family convenience: it is very common for a man to marry his first cousin, and his deceased brother's wife is, by custom and opinion, his right (*haq*). Sometimes in out-of-the way places, the contract is made by mutual desire of parties well acquainted with each other. Overtures from a Dalazák, or other person not recognized as an Afghán, would not be entertained, although Afgháns have no objection to take the daughters of Hindkis as their wives. It is also usual to object to overtures for a younger daughter if there should still be an elder unmarried sister. The amount payable is fixed according to the position and means of the suitor; it includes a sum of money for expenses, another for jewels; this is allowed for in the dower (*mahar*) fixed, and is the only portion of the dower *paid* previous to marriage. A certain quantity of rice, *shakar* and *ghi* are also included in the demand. There is often a good deal of haggling about the amount demanded. As soon as the money is paid, betrothal (*kojhdan*) is made, and may or may not be followed immediately by the marriage ceremony (*wádah*). The ceremony is performed by the *imám*, after ascertaining from the relations who have been witnesses to the *kabúl iljab*, or acknowledgment of acceptance by the girl of her suitor. The amount of dower (*mahar*) varies very much; it is usually settled at the same amount as has previously been fixed for other members of the family; this is known as *maher-i-misal*. It is common for the bride, if satisfied with her husband, to forego her right to dower, and it is always done if the husband at any time should become dangerously ill after marriage. The bride's own portion, received from her father and mother, is called *dhadzor parúnai*.

Betrothal.

Generally, the selection is made without previous acquaintance through the means of members of the *dúm* class, who are termed *raibar* or *dallál*, *i.e.*, 'go between,' or 'agent.' This class, both men and women, are the repository of the family secrets of the whole tribe;

and, in their special calling, they play off the negotiating parties upon each other, according as they are paid. They are very circumspect, however, and, for their own safety, keep their secrets to themselves. As soon as the parents of a girl have accepted the proposals of a candidate for their daughter's person, he visits the father in company with the *dallál*, and takes with him presents for the parents and the object of his desires. If approved of, he is invited to visit again, when the amount of dowry is agreed to. If in possession of the requisite means the marriage day is fixed; if not, he is ackowledged as the betrother, and a period fixed for him to collect the dowry. As soon as the terms are agreed to, the father and the wooer drink *eau sucré* out of the same vessel, as a token that the compact is binding, and as a proof of good faith. After this ceremony the engagement is published, the friends of either party congratulate each other., and the hopeful Benedict makes frequent or few visits, accoding to circumstances, with presents for his affianced, though he never sees her. The engagement is termed *kozhdan*, the dowry *máhar*, the youth *zalmai* or *chandghol*, the maid *paighla* or *chandghála*, the ceremony *nikah*, the feast *wádah*, the procession *janj*, the bride *nawái*, the bridegroom *sakhtan*, the mother *mairman*, the father *máirah*, the infant *máshúm*, the girl *jinai*, and the boy *halak*.

Betrothal.

The marriage festivities are called *shádi*, and consist of a wedding feast (*phwára*) and the procession or *janj* which accompanies the bridegroom to the bride's house. The *janj* comprises the friends of both parties. On the appointed day the bridegroom sets out with his friends male and female, to the house of his bride; they go along in a divided procession, the men by themselves and the women by themselves, with music, singing and firing of matchlocks, &c. This party is termed *janjián*; at the house of the bride they are welcomed by her party of friends, termed *manjián*. The two parties coalesce, and the men and women in separate associations pass the day and night in feasting, music, and gossip. During the night the bride and bridegroom are made man and wife by the priest, who, in the presence of witnesses, asks each party if they accept each other on the conditions he at the time names in detail. This repeated three times, and affirmative replies being received from each on all three occasions, the priest, naming both parties, declares them man and wife, and asks a blessing on their union. This is the *nikah*. Next morning the bridegroom takes his bride to his own home, and is conducted thither by his own *janjián* with the usual demonstrations of happiness. The *manjián* remain at the bride's house to comfort the parents. At his own house the bridegroom keeps the guests three days and nights occupied in feasting, music, &c.; then, dismissing them, unveils his bride, and sees her for the first time. Both parties receive presents from each of their friends; but it is an understood agreement that they in turn will make presents of the same value to each of them when a similar festival occurs in their respective families. Failing to do this, and to return jewels borrowed for the occasion, is a fruitful source of feuds. The eve of Friday or Monday are generally the days chosen by the husband for taking away his

The Wedding.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Wedding.

wife. The ceremony is generally performed in the month of *Shuval*; seldom in the month of *Muharram*, which is considered unlucky for marriages; and never during the *Ramazán*, or between it and the *loai akhtar* or *íd-i-kurban*, because the first is a period of fasting, and the second the time for making pilgrimages. All the expenses of the marriage are borne by the bridegroom. The expenses known as the *huktora* payable to the *khán* or *malik* of the *kandi* in which the bride lives, include fees to the village servants, which are paid by the bridegroom and on his arrival with the *janj*; they usually amount to Rs. 10, and include payment to the village artizans, *imám* and *hak pagri* for the *malik*. The expenses fall on the bridegroom; to help him it is the custom for his friends to contribute sums (*nendra*), an equivalent for which he is expected to pay at their weddings. The cheapest marriage with a virgin (*peghla*) would probably not cost less than Rs. 100; an average one about Rs. 250; and for an *arbáb*, *khan*, or leading man, the expenses might reach as much as Rs. 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000. The rites and ties are for the most part binding according to the Muhammadan code. But in this there is much variation in the different divisions of the tribe. The majority are content with one wife at a time, many marry two, and the chiefs and wealthy take the full number of four, besides as many concubines as they can afford to keep.

Death.

Mourning for the dead appears to be the special duty of the women. When a death occurs in a family, the women of the *kandi*, or quarter, and others in the neighbourhood, repair to the house, and gathering round the corpse, which is for the purpose laid out on a bed in the court, perform the *vír*, or *wuzár*, the lamentation. It is a very mournful and impressive sight. The women, some twenty or thirty if the deceased were a man of position, stand round the corpse and weep in concert, and in an accustomed manner and tone. They are led by the senior matron, who, advancing a step or two in the front of the rest, slaps her face with both hands, and amidst loud sobs, exclaims in sharp, shrill, and hurried breaths, *hai! hai! húai!* alas! alas! woe, alas! and at the last syllable stamps one foot on the ground. The rest repeat in chorus after the leader, and continue the same exclamations and gestures with increasing vehemence and gesticulations for half an hour or more; by which time their faces are swelled from repeated slapping (at least those of the near relatives), the eyes are bloodshot and sore from the unusual drain of tears, the hair hangs in wild dishevelled locks, and the actors are more or less exhausted by the performance. The sound of the *wuzár*, or *vír*, can be heard at a considerable distance. Often the weepers divide into two parties, who repeat the *vír* in rapid succession, but in different keys; the one party commencing at the cadence of the others' exclamation. At the conclusion of the lamentation, the women retire. The body is then washed in the prescribed manner by one of the Shahkhel class, who for his labour gets his day's food and the clothes on the body. After the washing, the corpse is swathed in burial clothes—a winding sheet, in two pieces of coarse cotton cloth. One piece is wrapped all round the body, and the other is spread over its back and front from head to foot. The two great toes are fastened

Death.

together with a string. In this state, placed on a bed and covered with a sheet, the corpse is carried off to the burial-ground, where round the grave are collected the priest of the quarter in which deceased resided, his relatives, friends, and a crowd of beggars and idlers. Women form no part of the assembly. On depositing the corpse near the grave, the assembly rise and stand in rows to it east and facing the west. The priest then advances a few paces and performs the prayers appointed for the burial of the dead in an audible and solemn voice, and is followed by the congregation repeating after him. At the conclusion of the prayers, the body is lowered into the grave, which lies north and south, and is next laid in the *lahad* with the face inclined to the west. The *lahad* is a small sepulchre on the west side of the grave, or *kabar* and a little below the level of its floor. It is roomy enough to allow the corpse to sit up when summoned to render account of his life and deeds. After the body has been deposited in it, the *lahad* is shut off from the *kábar* by large flat bricks placed upright against its opening. The *kabar* is then filled up with earth, none of which reaches the corpse itself.

General statistics and distribution of religions.

Table No. VII shows the numbers in each *tahsíl* and in the whole district who follow each religion, as ascertained in the Census of 1881, and Table No. XLIII gives similar figures for towns. Tables III, IIIA, IIIB, of the report of that Census give further details on the subject. The distribution of every 10,000 of the population by religions is shown in the margin. The limitations subject to which these figures must be taken, and especially the rule followed in the classification of Hindús, are fully discussed in Part I, Chapter IV of the Census Report. The distribution of every 1,000 of the Musalmán population by sect is shown in the margin. But it is believed that the number of Wahábis is under-estimated, and that of Shiahs somewhat overstated. The Patháns of Pesháwar are bigoted Sunnis; and the Shiahs are almost wholly confined to the city itself. The sects of the Christian population are given in Table IIIA of the Census Report, but the figures are, for reasons explained in Part VII, Chapter IV of the Report, so very imperfect that it is not worth while to reproduce them here. Table No. IX shows the religion of the major castes and tribes of the district, and therefore the distribution by cast of the great majority of the followers of each religion. A brief description of the great religions of the Punjab and of their principal sects will be found in Chapter IV of the Census Report. The religious practice and belief of the district present no special peculiarities; and it would be out of place to enter here into any disquisition on the general question. The general distribution of religions by *tahsíls* can be gathered from

Sects.	Rural population.	Total population
Sunnis	1,000	995
Shiahs	0 3	5 4
Wahábis	0 1	0·1

Religion.	Rural population	Urban population.	Total population.
Hindu ...	331	1,860	663
Sikh ..	23	158	52
Musalmán ...	9,645	7,664	9,215
Christian ...	1	315	69

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

the figures of Table No. VII; and regarding the population as a whole no more detailed information as to locality is available. But the landowning classes are wholly, and the village menials almost entirely Musalmáns, the Hindús and Sikhs being confined to the mercantile classes, their priests, and the camp followers of the cantonments. The people of the district are nearly all Sunnis, or followers of the traditions of the four Sunni sects called after the respective doctors whose tenets they have adopted; the Afgháns generally belong to the sect known as Hanafis. In all matters of outward form, the keeping of fasts and saying of prayers, they are most particular. The prayers consist of two parts, *farz* and *sunat;* the former must be repeated, the latter may be omitted in case of pressing hurry. Before any prayer can be repeated, ablution by *audás* or, in the absence of water, purification by *taiamum* must be performed. The religious man is easily told by his always being on the look-out to avoid contact with what he considers impurities; dogs are his chief aversion. There are five fixed prayers, the first at *sahra, i.e.* at daylight, *mazpakhin* at noon, *mazdígar*, afternoon, *mazkham* at sunset, and *mazkhotan* at evening.

General statistics and distribution of religions.

Superstition.

Dr. Bellew thus describes the superistitious character of the Patháns:—

"Their superstition is incredible and has no limits. Miracles, charms, and omens are believed in as a matter of course. An inordinate reverence for saints and the religious clssses generally is universal, and their absurdly impossible and contradictory dicta are received and acted on with eager credulity. The *ziárat*, or 'sacred shrine,' is habitually resorted to by all classes and both sexes. At these the devotees confess their sins and implore forgiveness, unburden their hearts of all manner of secret desires, and beseech favours, all in the full belief of a sure hearing and answer. The wayfarer never passes one without checking his steps to render obeisance or invoke a blessing. The people pride themselves on these outward signs of a holy life, and boast of their love and reverence for their pure prophet, and his 'blessed religion,' and congratulate themselves on their resigned obedience to his commands as conveyed to them through their holy men and priests. With all this, however, they never allow their religion or its ordinances to stand in the way of their desires when these run counter to them. In their religious tenets they are Sunni Muhammadans, and distinguish themselves as *cháriáris*. In common with other Musalmáns, they hold the observance of prayer, alms, fasts, and pilgrimage to be the binding and fundamental duties of their religion. To omit any of these is considered a great sin, and if persevered in exposes the offender to excommunication as an infidel. The observance of prayer, especially with the appointed ceremonies and at the fixed periods, is deemed the most important duty, and is less neglected than any of the others"

Alms.

The distribution of alms is very generally observed by all classes according to their means. The priesthood, widows, orphans, maimed, blind, aged, &c., are the recipients. Alms are sometimes given in money, but more generally they are gifts from the produce of the fields or flocks, &c. None of the Yusafzai pay the *ushr*, or tithe for the support of the church, though its exaction has frequently been attempted. Their objection is that by so doing they would acknowledge themselves the subjects of a sovereign, whereas it is the glory of most of the tribe to boast of the independence they maintain. The fast of *Ramazán* is very strictly kept from sunrise to sunset

every day throughout the month, and is considered a meritorious penance, ensuring abundant future reward. Only travellers and invalids are allowed to eat during the fast; children are classed with the latter. The knowledge of the tribes in the plain is little more than that possessed by their brethren in the hills; their bigotry and superstition is great. Everywhere Mullahs, Shekhs and Sayads are objects of reverence, whose temporal wants are freely attended to. Mullahs of note attract to their mosques a number of wandering adventurers from other countries known as a *tálib-ilm* or seekers after learning; but who are most frequently idle vagabonds, ready to join in any piece of mischief which comes in their way; and sometimes the regularly employed spies of robbers and dacoits.

Alms.

Religion of women.

The women are even more superstitious and religiously disposed than the men; and their credulity increases with the absurdity of what is offered for their belief. They are very fond of visiting the *ziárats* and the graves of departed relatives. On Fridays, it is a common sight to find the village graveyards and *ziárat* enclosures crowded with troops of women, old and young. Some in silence move about between the graves, strewing them with flowers, or pebbles, or bits of pottery. Others sit down and indulge their grief for a lost dear one in loud sobs and wailings of the deepest sorrow, and for hours together call to the dead in the most affectionate terms mingled with loving rebukes for deserting his own to the cares and toils of a weary life.

Priests—*Mullahs.*

The *mullahs* or priests, as distinguished from the *astánadárs*, who may or may not be devoted to a religious life, are the active portion of the clergy. They are of four classes: the *ímám*, the *mullah* proper, the *shekh*, and the *tálib-ul-ilm*. They are for the most part lamentably ignorant. The *ímám* is the leader of the congregation belonging to a mosque, or *jumáat*, the head official attached to it. The *mullah* is an ordinary priest. There are generally several attached to each mosque. They call the *azán* and perform the prayers and other duties of the *ímám* in his absence. They are mostly occupied in teaching the village children. They often succeed to the office of *ímám*. The *shekh* is one who, relinquishing worldly pleasures, becomes the disciple, or *murid*, of some *zburg* or saint. Neither the title nor occupation is hereditary. The *tálib-ul-ilm*, or "seeker of wisdom," is the name applied to a mixed class of vagrants and idlers who, under the pretence of devoting themselves to religion, wander from country to country, and, on the whole, lead an agreeable and easy life. All these divisions of the *mullah* community are supported by the produce of rent-free lands attached to the mosques on which they quarter themselves. They also receive periodical presents of clothes and daily supplies of food from the people of the *kandi* or quarter in which their mosques are situated. The class of holy men is described in the next section of the Chapter.

Pilgrimages.

The proper place of pilgrimage is Meccá; but as few are able to undertake so great a journey, the mass of the people go the round of the *ziárats* in their own vicinity. There are three principal places of pilgrimage, and each has its own fixed annual festival. These are the *jhandáh* at Peshawar, Káká Sáhib in the

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Pilgrimages.

Khattak country, and Pír Bábá in Bunér. The first two festivals are termed *mela*, and last three or four days each. Immense crowds of holiday folk assemble at these shrines, at appointed times, once a year; before the *Ramazán* at Pesháwar for the *jhandáh mela*,* and after the *Ramazan* for the Káká Sáhib *mela*. Numbers of Hindus and petty traders attend at these festivals, and in temporary booths open out shops for the sale of a vast variety of merchandise. Bands of musicians, actors, &c., move about the crowd, delighting the women and children with their obscene jests and disreputable performances. The men are amused by wrestlers, conjurors, &c., vie with each other in equestrian exercises (*neza bázi*), trials of strength, and other athletic sports. Gamesters and prostitutes also are present, and reap rich harvests from their victims. In these festivals enemies often meet and settle their disputes with their swords. Previous to the British rule, these assemblages were always very unruly and disorderly crowds, and much blood was spilt. Now, however, they are better conducted, but still four or five deaths from violence always occur. At the Pír Bábá *ziárat* there is no *mela* owing to the unsettled state of the country. It is a sober place of pilgrimage. In the spring, however, parties of both Muhammadans and Hindús collecting there, set out for the *ziárat* of Jogiano Sar on the summit of the Tortaba spur of the Ilam mountain. Here they encamp for three days, and in separate parties enjoy a season of recreation, described as a mixture of religious devotion and debauchery. The people going to this festival (which is termed by the Hindús *ramtakht*) collect a sum of four or five hundred rupees for the chief of the district before he ensures their safety. Frequently, when the country is actively disturbed, the festival is altogether passed over.

A list of the principal religious and festive gatherings.

A list of the principal fairs and religious gatherings is given in the statement at the top of next page.

The chief Hindu festivals are the *Baisakhi*, held in April, and the *Dosaihra* in September or October. The former takes place at the Gorakhnath tank, near Babu Garhi, and the latter near the city, on the land known as the *jabba*. They attract large crowds.

The Pesháwar Mission.

The Church Missionary Society established its Mission to the Afgháns at Pesháwar in 1855, in response to an offer of Rs. 10,000 from Major W. J. Martin. At the time some apprehension of danger was felt regarding the propagation of Christianity in so bigoted a stronghold of Muhammadanism, and when the Pesháwar Mission was first started, an officer of the station put his name down on the subscription list for "one rupee towards a Dean and Adam's revolver for the first Missionary." These apprehensions have been shown by experience to have been wholly without foundation. The first Missionaries were the Revd. Dr. Pfander, the Revd. Robert Clark, M.A., and Major Martin. Dr. Pfander was the eminent controversialist, the author of the *Mizán-ul-Haqq*, and other works. The Pesháwar Mission has suffered much from the sickness and death of its members, the following having died at Peshawar:—Revd. T. Teiting, M.,A 1862; Revd. R. E. Clark, B.A., 1863; Revd. J. Stevenson, 186·6

* In honour of Sakhi Sarwar.

List of the principal Muhammadan Religious Gatherings.

No.	Name of principal gatherings.	Date.	Remarks.
1	*Zúrat* Kaka Sahib.	16th to 24th *Rajab*.	This religious festival is held yearly at the village of *Zúrat* in the Khattak country, to commemorate the anniversary of Shekh Rahmkar's (better known as Kaka Sahib) death; it lasts eight or nine days. Large crowds (50,000) assemble, and make offerings at the shrine; the proceeds are divided among the descendants of Káka Sahib On the 7th or 8th day the flesh of sheep and goats is buried, and a general scramble made for it by the holiday folk, under a shower of stones thrown by the Kakakhels and Mojawars of the shrine The idea is that no harm can be inflicted, but there are broken heads at times
2	*Idul fitar warukai Akhtar.*	1st *Shawal*	This religious festival is celebrated from the 1st to the 3rd of Shawal, the 10th month, the next after Ramazan On the first day about 9 o'clock, after having given the usual *khairat* to the poor, the people, dressed in new and clean clothes, assemble in the mosques and perform prayers The remainder of the day is spent in visiting and congratulations: the second day is the *mela* day, and is now held on the open ground, near the cattle *sarai* on the right of the Grand Trunk road, looking towards Attock On the third day another *mela* is held at the Chitta Gumbat, in the Gullozai village boundaries
3	*Idulzuha* Lóé *Akhtar*	10th *Zulkiya*	This religious festival called the great festival, commences on the 10th of *Zulhiya*, the last month of the year, and, like the other lasts three days; wealthy persons slay sheep and goats, the flesh of which is distributed among their friends, relatives and the poor With the exception of sacrificing, the same customs are observed as at the minor festival, and the festival is held in the same place The minor festival is observed with more rejoicing, probably owing to the fast of one month previously gone through
4	*Moharram* ..	10th *Moharram*	This day is held sacred because it is the anniversary of the day on which Imam Husen, the Prophet's grandson, was slain at the battle of the plain of Karballa It is also believed to be the day on which the first meeting of Adam and Eve took place after they were cast out of Paradise, and that on which Noah left the Ark. Alms-giving, and other good works, are incumbent on all
5	*Jhanda*	1st or 2nd Monday of *Naggar*	The festival known as the *Jhanda mela* is held yearly, near the city at the open space near the cattle market to commemorate the anniversary of Sakhi Sarwar's death; it lasts only one day There is no shrine, and the festival is often put off a day or two in the event of rain or any other cause preventing a large assembly There are lines of temporary shops erected, and a good deal of business transacted The name *Jhanda* is owing to the large show of flags erected by the *fakirs*.

Revd. J. W. Knott, M.A., 1870; Mrs. Alice Wade, 1871. And several others have been invalided. Soon after the establishment of the Church Missionary Society's Mission at Peshawar, the Revd. Isidore Lowenthal, of the American Presbyterian Mission, arrived, and engaged himself in the translation of the New Testament into Pashto, the language of the Afghans, which was printed and published in 1863, at Hertford. Mr. Lowenthal was accidentally shot by his watchman, April 27th, 1864.

The Peshawar Mission.

The present Missionary clergy of the Church Missionary Society stationed at Peshawar are the Revd. T. P. Hughes, B.D.; Revd. W. Jukes, M. A.; the Revd. Imam Shah. The central Mission House is situated at the side of Cantonments next the city and opposite the well-known Muhammadan shrine called the *Nau Gaza*, or the shrine of the saint who was nine yards long. It contains a valuable library of about 4,000 volumes including a unique collection of Pashto manuscripts. At the corner of the Mission compound, and opposite the Cantonment Railway Station, is a cold-water well constructed by Pathan friends to the memory of the late Henry Thorpe Robinson, M.A., of the Bengal Civil Service, and presented to the Peshawar

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. The Peshâwar Mission.

Mission for the use of its native guests. Within the compound are numerous hotels and rest houses for Afghán visitors; the Missionaries having established a *hujrah* or guest-house for the reception of travellers. The City Mission House is in the Ghorkhattri, and is the residence of the head master of the Edwardes Collegiate (Mission) School. Amir Sher Ali Khán during his visit, in March 1869, resided in this house at the invitation of the Missionary clergy.

The Mission Church, which is dedicated to all saints, is a Saracenic structure erected to the memory of departed missionaries, and is situated in the city near the Kohát Gate and the Mission School. It is 80 feet long and has two small transepts, an apse, and a bell tower. The west window, which is of richly stained glass, is erected to the memory of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes. Close to the Church is the Parsonage, the residence of the Revd. Imám Sháh, and also the Church Library for the use of the Christians and a reading room. The number of Christians on the rolls of the Peshâwar Mission Church is 94, some of whom are converted Afgháns. The services, which are in Hindústani, are held daily, morning and evening. The Native Christian cemetery is situated about a mile from the Kohat Gate. It is on the site of an old European and Armenian cemetery used at the time of the first British occupation of Peshâwar in 1849-50. It is neatly kept and presents a striking contrast to the barrenness of the surrounding Muhammadan graveyards. The literary efforts of the Peshâwar Mission have been chiefly confined to the translation of the Scriptures into Pashto; the New Testament having been rendered into Pashto by the late Mr. Lowenthal; and the Pentateuch is now being translated into Pashto by Messrs. Hughes and Jukes. Several Pashto tracts and hymns have also been published. The Martin Lecture Hall and Institute, in connection with the Mission and the Mission schools, are all described in Chap. V, Section A.

Language.

Table No. VIII shows the numbers who speak each of the principal languages current in the district separately for each *tahsíl* and for the whole district. More detailed information will be found in Table IX of the Census Report for 1881, while in Chapter V of the same report the several languages are briefly discussed. The figures in the margin give the distribution of every 10,000 of the population by language, omitting small figures. Punjabi is spoken in the Khálsa *ilaka*, and by Hindús and Hindkis all over the district. Dogri and Kashmiri are spoken by immigrants from Kashmir and Jammu, and Gujari by the Gujar shepherds of the hills. Hindústani is chiefly confined to the troops, and camp-followers. The mother tongue of the inhabitants of the Peshâwar district of Afghán descent (except the Khattaks) is the Pakhto, or northern (usually, but erroneously, styled the eastern) dialect of Afgháni. This dialect is also spoken by the miscellaneous classes of naturalized settlers who reside in the valley. It differs in many respects from

Language.	Proportion per 10,000 of population
Hindústani	208
Dogri	2
Kashmíri	33
Panjábi	1,894
Pashtu	7,731
All Indian languages ...	9,875
Non-Indian languages ...	125

Language.

Pashto or the southern (usually, but erroneously, styled the western) dialect, mainly in employing *kh* in lieu of the sibilant *sh*, and the hard *g* for the softer *zh* which prevail in the latter. The Pakhto of Hashtnagar and Yusafzai is noted for its purity both of idiom and pronunciation. The Khattaks of the district speak the soft or Pashto dialect. The name Pakhtun, an Afghán (plural Pakhtanah), by which a Pathán designates himself in his own language, has been variously derived. Dr. Trumpp agrees with Lassen, and traces it back to the *Paktues* mentioned by Herodotus; whilst Raverty relies on the Afghán tradition that Pakht, or Pasht, in the vicinity of Kassai-ghar, in the Suleman range, was the head-quarters of Afghána, the commander-in-chief of king Solomon, and derives thence the name of the language, Pakhto or Pashto, and of the people, Pakhtun or Pashtun. The Afghán language was, there is every reason to believe, for an extended period purely colloquial. The first prose work connected with it, of which, there is information, is entitled Sarah, or "The Pure," of which according to Raverty, Akhund Darweza (A.D. 1550) wrote that it had been in the possession of the Yusafzais for some period before his time. The title is an Arabic one, and Raverty does not say in what language it was written. The earliest prose work was by Shaikh Mali, Yusafzai, in A.D. 1417. It is a history of the Yusafzais, related their conquests, and recorded the distribution of the property held by the tribe. No copy, however, of this work is procurable. The earliest Afghán poetry was by one Mulla Arzani, who flourished in A.D. 1550. Their great poet was Khushal Khán, the renowned Khattak chief: he was born in A.D. 1613 and died 1691; he must have had a good opinion of himself, having recorded that he was grateful to God for many things; but above all that he was Khushal Khán, Khattak.

The principal works from the pens of European authors are six, four grammars and two dictionaries. The grammars are Vaughan's (1854), Raverty (1855), Bellew (1867), and Trumpp (1873). The lexicons are by Raverty, 1860, and Bellew, 1667. The following works have been published by Major T. C. Plowden, Bengal Army:—A translation into English of the Kalid-i-Afghání, the Government text-book, with copious notes; idiomatic Pakhto colloquial sentences, in parts; a Grammar and Syntax of Pakhto, or the north dialect of Afghání, as spoken in British Afghánistan. In Appendix D to Captain Hastings' Settlement Report will be found lists of every work in the language.

Education.

Table No. XIII gives statistics of education as ascertained at the Census of 1881 for each religion and for the total population of each *tahsíl* The figures for female education are probably very imperfect indeed. The figures in the margin show the number educated among every 10,000 of each sex according to the Census returns. Statistics regarding the attendance

Education

	Education.	Rural population.	Total population.
Males.	Under instruction ...	210	248
	Can read and write ...	262	547
Females.	Under instruction ...	7·0	12·2
	Can read and write ...	6·9	24·7

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Education.

Details.	Boys.	Girls
Europeans and Eurasians ...	...	...
Native Christians	...	...
Hindús	229	...
Musalmáns	1,003	...
Sikhs	25	...
Others	...	...
Children of agriculturists ...	838	...
„ of non-agriculturists ...	419	...

at Government and aided schools will be found in Table No. XXXVII. The distribution of the scholars at these schools by religion and the occupations of their fathers, as it stood in 1881-82, is shown in the margin. A vernacular newspaper is published at the Sheriff Press in Pesháwar. The Mission Schools of the district are described in Chapter V. The accomplishments of reading and writing were chiefly confined to the priestly class, but of late many of the young men of good family have learnt besides a smattering of Arabic and Persian, to read and write Urdu, as they see it is their only chance of obtaining employment in the civil and police branches. Few, if any, of the ordinary landed proprietors can read or write, but the rising generation, with its better opportunities of education, will not be so deficient as the present one. The women as a rule are quite uneducated.

Mission Schools.

The Edwardes Collegiate (Mission) School is the Educational Institution of the Church Missionary Society in the city of Pesháwar, established A.D. 1855. It is a large and convenient building, with an oriental portico, situated immediately opposite the Kohát gate of the city. It consists of a large central hall and numerous class rooms. A portion of the building still shows the remains of the apartments once occupied by the harem of the Bárakzai Sardár Yár Muhammad Khán. The school educates up to the matriculation standard of the Calcutta and Punjab Universities, and has 500 pupils, many of whom are sons of gentry. In March 1881 Mr. C. Pearson, M.A., Government Inspector of Schools, wrote :—"The popularity of "the school, which is very remarkable, results from the friendly rela- "tions which the missionaries have always cultivated with the people "of the city and neighbourhood." The number of scholars might be greatly increased, but the Pesháwar Mission has closed most of its branch vernacular schools in favour of the Municipal school, which is purely a vernacular institution. Some years ago an Anglo-Vernacular Government school was established in the city of Pesháwar, but its English department was closed by order of the late Sir Donald McLeod, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in deference to the position maintained by the Mission school. The institution receives a monthly grant-in-aid of Rs. 345 from Government and several scholarships from municipal and district funds. The fees are about Rs. 150 per mensem. The pupils receive instruction in English, Persian, and Hindústani. Arabic and Pashto classes were started, but they were not popular. The teaching of Holy Scripture is purely voluntary, but no pupil has ever been found to absent himself from the Scripture classes. The educational staff consists of the Revd. W. Jukes, M.A., Cantab, Principal; Mr. Datta, Head Master; Mr. Ghose, Assistant Master; Maulvi Khalifah Natu, Persian teacher; and a large staff of vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular teachers. There are two vernacular schools for girls—one for Muhammadans and one for Hindús—supported by the Church of England *Zanána*

Society and superintended by Miss A. Norman and Mrs. Imám Sháh. The Mission also has a small school with some 50 pupils at Utmánzai in Hashtnagar.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The character and disposition of the people is described in the following paragraphs, which are taken from Captain Hastings' Settlement Report. Tables Nos. XL, XLI, and XLII give statistics of crime, while Table No. XXXV shows the consumption of liquors and narcotic stimulants.

Character and disposition of the people.

Physical characteristics of Pathán Tribes.

"The Afgháns generally, and especially the Mandanr and Muhammadzai, are manly, muscular and full-statured; their complexions are dark without being black; and many of them have a Jewish cast of features which, added to a look of high bearing especially noticeable in some of the Arbáb and Khankhel families, make them a handsome race. The inhabitants of the Peshawar valley differ from each other in physical characteristics according to the nature of the locality in which they dwell. Thus the Khattaks, who occupy the hilly tract forming the southern boundary of the valley, are the finest, tallest, and heaviest of all the Peshawar tribes. Of twelve Khattak men between the ages of 25 and 45 years weighed and measured by Dr. Bellew, the tallest measured 5 feet $11\frac{10}{12}$ inches and weighed 149lbs. 12ozs. The shortest measured 5 feet 3 inches and weighed 107lbs. 12ozs. The average height was 5 feet $7\frac{8}{12}$ inches, and the average weight 125lbs. 13ozs. The Yusafzai, who inhabit the open elevated plain in the northern and central parts of the valley, come next to the Khattaks in size and weight. The tallest man measured was 5 feet $8\frac{10}{12}$ inches, and weighed 130lbs, the shortest 5 feet 3 inches and 111lbs. The average height was 5 feet $5\frac{11}{12}$ inches, and weight 118lbs. 13ozs. Next in order came the Mohmands, located on the elevated but ill-ventilated tract occupying the south-western corner of the valley. Of twelve of these men the tallest was 5 feet $8\frac{8}{12}$ inches and weighed 126 lbs. 6ozs. The shortest was 5 feet $1\frac{8}{12}$ inches, and weighed 102lbs. 4ozs. The average height was 5 feet $5\frac{8}{12}$ inches, and weight 116lbs. 12ozs. Inferior to these again are the inhabitants of the low marshy tracts of Doába and Daudzai. Of these the tallest measured was 5 feet $8\frac{10}{12}$ inches, and weighed 150lbs.; the shortest was 5 feet $1\frac{11}{12}$ inches, and 89lbs. 8 ozs. The average height was 5 feet $4\frac{8}{12}$ inches, and weight 111lbs. 15ozs. The inhabitants of the city are still more inferior as a whole. The tallest measured was 5 feet $7\frac{8}{12}$ inches, and 135lbs. The shortest was 5 feet 1 inch, and 103 lbs. 1oz. The average height was only 5 feet $4\frac{3}{12}$ inches, and 183lbs. 1oz.

Character of the people.

"The Pathán are a lively people, superstitious beyond belief, and proud to a degree, but brave and hospitable, two virtues compensating for many vices, among which may be mentioned distrustfulness, envy, resentment and vindictiveness. The chief occupation of the mass is agriculture; they seldom engage in trade or handicraft; because they have no capacity for it, and look down upon these means of gaining a livelihood. The wealthier men are very fond of hawking; all have the bump of destructiveness strongly developed, which they call *shikar*, but they have no idea of sport as sportsmen understand the term. A soldier's life has a charm for the younger men, many of whom are enlisted in the native infantry regiments and make good soldiers. Festive gatherings are frequent, either at the shrines of popular saints, or at centrical places where such meetings are held periodically, and where people seem to come together, not to buy or sell or even to quarrel, but simply to make a noise and be happy. Tilting, shooting at a mark, racing and wild music relieve the monotony; whilst the boisterous groups of children and young lads to be seen at

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Character of the people,

these fairs as well as in the villages, are a sure indication that this happiness is not merely a holiday garb, but attends the Afghán in his home, be he peasant or noble. As a rule they are orderly and pass away the time vieing with one another in equestrian exercises, *neza bazi*, and shooting, relieved by songs (*landai*) and their wild *surnai* music. They are not, as a rule, athletes—wrestling, racing on foot, or performing feats of strength, do not form a part of the village youth's amusements, and this does not wear off in manhood when they mix with Punjabis and Sikhs after enlistment. An Afghán thinks a Punjabi or Sikh who appears in a semi-nude state for gymnastics as utterly without shame. Their love of home is great; this, coupled with pride, keeps many younger members of good families wasting their lives in Pesháwar with next to nothing to live upon. It is also attributable to a custom which does not allow their wives to accompany them when they leave their homes. Service too in the army or civil department for young men of good family generally commences on such low pay as to render their living, and keeping the follower or two who would usually accompany them, impossible.

"According to their neighbours, the Patháns are said to be naturally very avaricious and grasping, selfish, and merciless, strangers to affection and without gratitude. They have all these faults, but the condemnation is too sweeping and severe. Though not always sincere in their manners, the Patháns observe many outward forms of courtesy towards each other and strangers that one would not expect in a people living the disturbed and violent life they do. Not to return the *salam* is always considered wrong and not unfrequently is taken as a personal slight, and avenged accordingly. Friends meeting after a long absence embrace, and in fervent phrases inquire of each other's welfare, never stopping to give a due reply in the midst of their counter-gabblings. They are very amenable to the orders of authority; a single *chaprasi* is enough sometimes to stop a riot and often sufficient to bring in two factions, ready to fight one another on the slightest provocation. It is often difficult to make them understand the why and wherefore of procedure; they will not, or pretend not to do so, but they fully understand the meaning of the word *hukm* (order).

Pride and code of honour.

"The pride of the Afgháns is a marked feature of their national character. It is also a prominent one of the Yusafzai. They eternally boast of their descent, their prowess in arms, and their independence, and cap all by 'Am I not a Pakhtun?' This exaggerated notion of their own honour (*Nang-i-Pukhtana*) affords the most remarkable illustration of their pride. Any slight or insult to it is instantly resented. The existence of such sentiments amongst them is very strange, for they glory in being robbers, admit that they are avaricious, and cannot deny the character they have acquired for faithlessness. The distinctive laws of *Nang-i-Pukhtana* are very numerous, both as regards their dealings with their own race and with strangers. The chief are *Nanawatai*, *Badal*, and *Mailmastai*. By *Nanawatai*, or "the entering in," the Pakhtun is expected, at the sacrifice of his own life and property, if necessary, to shelter and protect any one who in extremity may flee to his threshold and seek an asylum under his roof. This applies even to the protector's own enemies, and by some tribes the asylum is extended to all living creatures, man or brute or fowl; but the protection is only vouchsafed within the limits of the threshold or premises. Beyond these the host himself may be the first to injure the late *protégé*. *Badal*, or retaliation, must be exacted for every and the slightest personal injury or insult, or for damage to property. Where the avenger takes the life of his victim in retaliation for the murder of one of his relatives, it is termed *kisás*. The laws of *mailmastai* bind the Pakhtun to feed and shelter any traveller arriving at his house and demanding them, and much of the

debt is caused by the hospitality exercised. Hospitality above all things wins the heart of an Afghán; the hospitable men are the most popular, while a saving man is called a *shum* (miser) and possesses but little influence. To omit or disregard any of these observances exposes the Pakhtun to the ridicule and scorn of his associates, and more especially as regards the *badal* and *kisás*. These are never forgotten, and whilst aptly illustrating the revengeful spirit of the people, show the means by which it is kept up. It is a common thing for injuries received by one generation to be revenged by their representatives of the next, or even by those two or three generations further removed. Children in their infancy are impressed with this necessity as the object of their lives.

Pride and code of honour.

Crime.

"Crime is prevalent, and connected, as the people generally say, with *zan*, *zar* or *zamin*, *i.e.*, woman, money or land. The murders are more numerous than elsewhere in the Punjab; many originate from old blood feuds, and no small number are the result of quarrels regarding women, and boys the object of unnatural lust, one of the vices of the district. Section 32 of the Arms Act is not in force, and consequently there is no difficulty in finding the means to commit murder, which is often effected by carefully planned midnight assassinations, cruel and brutal in their character. Cattle poisoning and rick burning are also common; they are the usual means of gratifying spite. For a marked reduction in crime, time is required. A generation or two hence, when the present code of their forefathers, which encourages the committal of reprisals for certain acts, is a matter of history, and a man is not looked down upon for declining to take the law into his own hands, then only a fixed noticeable reduction may be expected. The introduction of section 32 of the Arms Act in the interior villages of *tahsils* where crime has been prevalent will certainly have a deterrent effect as regards other parts of the district, for if there is one thing a Pathán values, it is arms and the privilege of wearing them."

Change in people since annexation; probable future change.

Captain Hastings, who knew the people well, writes:

"The people are very different to what they were at the commencement of British rule, to judge from the difference I myself can see, during the last 12 years; it is most apparent in Yusafzai, some villages of which *tahsil* were almost independent and but little interfered with. These villages used a few years ago to settle their disputes according to their own Pathán code, but latterly they have learnt, and acknowledge, that the government is strong, just, and very different to any former governments. It is nothing unusual for villagers who never dreamt of using our courts, to use them freely for even small matters. But although with our rule, life and property are undoubtedly more secure, and justice is available to all, still I think the mass of the people would prefer to revert to the old state of affairs; they have not learned to like us, although they fear and admire us in many things and also fully appreciate the justice of much that is done. By degrees the people, under the influence of our strong government, coupled with the many local improvements of canals, bridges, roads and wells yearly being carried on, will change from a hardy, warlike race, to a peaceful agricultural class, and with this change may be expected a great decrease to serious crime."

So Dr. Bellew writes of the Yusafzai: "For those of the Yusafzai tribes who have come under British rule, the conditions of life have in a measure become changed for the better. To outward appearance, the turbulent, restless, and savage Yusafzai of but a few years ago is now a peaceful, well-behaved, and industrious agriculturist—a remarkable contrast to his still savage and faithless brother in the hills, beyond the influence of British rule. Such is the result brought about by a strong, just, and merciful Government, under which life and property are secure, the fruits of industry reaped by the labourer, and liberty of speech and action, so

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Change in people since annexation; probable future change.

far as not seditious or criminal, unhindered; whilst a justice, such as was before unknown to them, is now available with equal facility to all, of whatever tribe, creed or rank. That these blessings are appreciated by the people is made apparent by the improvement of their condition during late years, and the influx of settlers from beyond the border. Indeed, they themselves, though owning many discontented characters, admit the blessings of their present condition as compared with their former state of life. The villager now never troubles himself with anxieties as to the safety of his cattle or crops, and is not always on the watch for an enemy in every corner. The alarm drum now is never heard, and the youths are untutored in the use of arms. Owing to their long enjoyment of peace and ease, and their confidence in the strength of the Government, many have sold their arms to tribes beyond the border. Despite all these advantages, the mass of the people would gladly revert to their former state of barbarism and anarchy, for they have not yet learned to like their beneficent rulers, though they cannot deny being satisfied with the results of their government."

Poverty or wealth of the people.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory estimate of the wealth of the commercial and industrial classes. The figures in the margin show the working of the income tax for the only three years for which details are available; and Table No. XXXIV gives statistics for the license tax for each year since its imposition. In 1872-73 there were 164 persons brought under the operation of the Income-Tax Act, as enjoying an income in excess of Rs. 750. In the preceding year, all incomes above Rs. 500 being liable, there were 342 persons taxed. Of these, 12 were bankers and money dealers; 45 merchants of piece-goods; 14 grain merchants; 12 other merchants; 19 traders in food. Of landed proprietors, 64 persons paid Rs. 1,184. The total collections amounted to Rs. 6,720. The distribution of licenses granted and fees collected in 1880-81 and 1881-82 between towns of over and villages of under 5,000 souls is shown in the margin. But the numbers affected by these taxes are small. It may be said generally that a very large proportion of the artisans in the towns are extremely poor, while their fellows in the villages are scarcely less dependent upon the nature of the harvest than are the agriculturists themselves, their fees often taking the form of a fixed share of the produce; while even where this is not the case, the demand for their products necessarily varies with the prosperity of their customers. Perhaps the leather-workers should be excepted, as they derive considerable gains from the hides of the cattle which

Assessment.		1869-70	1870-71	1871-72
Class I.	Number taxed ...	626	281	160
	Amount of tax ..	6,475	5,479	1,571
Class II.	Number taxed ...	105	86	69
	Amount of tax ...	2,160	2,822	971
Class III.	Number taxed ...	68	43	30
	Amount of tax ...	4,131	1,677	1,304
Class IV.	Number taxed ...	2	24	5
	Amount of tax ...	278	1,296	669
Class V.	Number taxed ...	.....	50	.....
	Amount of tax ...	.....	5,260	.....
Total	Number taxed ...	801	484	264
	Amount of tax ...	13,044	16,034	4,315

	1880-81.		1881-82.	
	Towns.	Villages.	Towns.	Villages.
Number of licenses .	112	106	217	252
Amount of fees	2,930	1,270	5,110	2,580

die in a year of drought. The circumstances of the agricultural classes are discussed below in Section D.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

Statistics and local distribution of tribes and castes.

Table No. IX gives the figures for the principal castes and tribes of the district, with details of sex and religion, while Table No. IXA shows the number of the less important castes. It would be out of place to attempt a description of each. Many of them are found all over the Punjab, and most of them in many other districts, and their representatives in Peshâwar are distinguished by no local peculiarities. Some of the leading tribes, and especially those who are important as landowners or or by position and influence, are briefly noticed in the following sections; and each caste will be found described in Chapter VI of the Census Report for 1881. The Census statistics of caste were not compiled for *tahsíls*, at least in their final form. It was found that an enormous number of mere clans or sub-divisions had been returned as castes in the schedules, and the classification of these figures under the main heads shown in the caste tables was made for districts only. Thus no statistics showing the local distribution of the tribes and castes are available. But the general distribution of the more important landowning tribes is very clearly defined, each tribe or clan occupying its own tribal territory; which is described in each case with the description of the tribe in the following pages; while the distribution by villages is given in the table at page 106.

Pathán tribes.

The Pathán has been fully described in the preceding Section of the Chapter, while the history and colonisation of the Peshâwar tribes have been narrated in Chapter II. The origin of the Pathán is discussed in Part II, Chapter VI, of the Punjab Census Report of 1881: while a summary of the evidence and opinions on either side of the much vexed question of whether he is of Jewish descent is given in Captain Hastings' Settlement Report. The following figures show the Pathán tribes as returned at the Census of 1881. It will be seen that there is much cross-classification owing to the varying nature of the entries, some returning their tribe, some their clan, while others returned both and are shown twice over under the two headings.

Sub-divisions of Pathán.

Name.	Number.	Name.	Number.	Name.	Number.
Kákar ...	716	Durani ...	6,742	Babar ...	465
Gigiani ...	4,756	Nargani ..	795	Utmankhel ...	6,768
Bajauri ...	732	Ghilzai .	3,017	Yusafzai ..	70,045
Afridi ...	6,590	Lodi ...	294	Mughal .	1,169
Tarin ...	660	Muhammadzai ...	18,033	Barakzai ..	356
Akhundkhel ...	2,128	Mullan Gori ...	652	Baiz ...	1,157
Chagharzai ...	190	Mohmand ...	40,080	Beswa ..	1,383
Chamkani ...	544	Mahatte ...	594	Gaddun .	1,773
Khatak ...	36,444	Mamkhel ...	1,085	Matizai ...	1,066
Khalil ...	13,268	Orakzai ..	874		
Daudzai ...	4,940	Urmar ...	3,187		

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Pathán tribes

Each of these tribes has its special locality, to which in most instances it has given its name. The Yusafzai hold the northern portion of the district, from the Kalpani (and its western feeder the Bagiarai) to the Indus. Hashtnagar, the remainder of the northern half of the district, is held mainly by the Muhammadzai. The Khattaks hold the *pargana* of the same name, south of the Kábul river together with the lowlands north of the Kábul from Hind on the Indus to Nowshera. They have also a colony in Yusafzai. The Mohmands, Khalíls, and Daudzai have given their names to the *parganas* whose boundaries have been described in the opening paragraphs of this account. For purpose of description, the tribes may be ranged under two main heads:—(1) the residents of Yusafzai and Hashtnagar; and (2) those of Doába and the country south of the Kábul river. This division is suggested by Major James. The tribes falling under the first head he describes as presenting "a fair specimen of civilized Pathán"—on the one hand, brought by powerful rulers into practical obedience and subjection, yet retaining, on the other hand, in all their essential features the individual freedom and patriarchal institutions of their hill brethren. In the second division (south of the Kábul), which was brought by the Sikhs into more complete subjection, the chiefs have been able to reduce their clansmen to a more subordinate position, and here accordingly the peculiar characteristics of Afghán communities, though not lost, have become blunted, the will of the chieftain being in many cases substituted for that of the brotherhood.

Descent of the Pathán tribes.

The chief tribes are the Mohmand, Khalíl, Daudzai, Gigiani, Muhammadzai, Mandan, Yusafzai, and Khatak. All but the last trace their descent from Kharshabun, son of Sarabun, one of the sons of Qais or Abdul Rashid. From Sharkhabun, a brother of Kharshabun are descended the Tarins, Shiranis, Mianas, Waraiches, Urmar, and other tribes represented in the district in smaller numbers. Kharshabun had three sons, Kansi, Zamand, and Kand. There are few descendants of Kansi in Peshawar. From Zamand are descended the Muhammadzai of Hashtnagar, and the Kheshgi, which no longer exist as a tribe. Kand had two sons, Ibrahim Ghori and Khakhai. To the former were born three sons who are the eponymous ancestors of the Khalíl, the Mohmand, and the Daudzai, who form the Ghoriakhel. Khakhai married two wives, Mast and Bassu. From the latter are descended the Tarklanri. By the former he had two sons, Mak and Mand; Mak was the ancestor of the Gigianis of Doába, while from Mand are descended the Yusafzai who are divided into two great sections; the Yusafai proper descended from Yusaf, and the Mandanr descended from Mandan son of Umar; both Yusaf and Umar being sons of Mand. The Yusafzai proper are now scantily represented in Peshawar, there being only a small settlement in the Baezai valley. The Mandanr are divided into the Usmanzai, the Utmanzai, and the Razzar, the last tribe including the descendants of Razzar, Mahmúd, and Khizzar, three of the four sons of Mandan.

The Khattaks. The derivation of the name Khattak

The Khattaks trace their descent from Karran through Luqman, surnamed Khattak, a son of Burhan, and grandson of Karran.

The Khattaks. The derivation of the name Khattak.

The name Khattak is derived from a Pashto expression used tauntingly after a disappointment that Luqman met with in the choice of a maiden. The story goes that he and his three brothers, Usman, Utman, and Judran, were one day out hunting, when four young women were seen coming towards them; three brothers proposed that lot should determine the choice of the prizes, but Luqman, who was the eldest, demanded the first choice, which was agreed to. Luqman's choice, owing to the faces of the maidens being veiled, turned out contrary to his expectations. His brother, amused at his disappointment, remarked *Luqman pa khatékéh*, "Luqman has got in the mud"—hence the name Khattak. There are, besides, small colonies of other Afghán tribes, a mixed population, not recognized as Afgháns, who differ so slightly, however, from the Afgháns that no stranger could distinguish them, and a few Hindús.

The distribution of the tribes and the number of villages occupied by each.

The statement on the next page shows the distribution of the tribes and the number of villages occupied by each. These main divisions or tribes have each a separate tract of country, generally known by the name of the tribe now or originally occupying it; for instance, the tribal portion of the Mohmands is khown as *tappa* (district) Mohmand, of the Khalíls as *tappa* (district) Khalíl, of the descendants of Daud as Daudzai, of the Gigianis as Doába,* of the descendants of Muhammad as Muhammadzai or more generally Hashtnagar, of the descendants of Yusaf and his nephew Mandan as Yusafzai.

Constitution of the Pathán tribe.

The Patháns in their own country are altogether an agricultural people, and live entirely on the produce of their fields and flocks. In former times, previous to their migration eastward into their present limits, they were shepherd tribes, more or less nomadic, and used to a hardy, open-air life. Like other barbarous people similarly situated, their nation was composed of a number of tribes, or great clans, each of which was split up into a multitude of lesser tribes, made up of numerous small societies of members of the same family. Though collectively bound to each other by the relationship of a common descent and capable of coalescing against a common enemy, the tribes individually formed distinct communities, governed by separate tribal chiefs or patriarchs, each possessing its own tract of the country, holding it by force of arms, and vigilantly guarding it against encroachment by the neighbouring tribes. Each tribe consists of a number of families who form separate but concordant societies, and who in matters that affect the interests of all alike, confederate under the elders of the senior family. The larger divisions of the tribe are termed *kaum* or "race," and bear the adjunct *zai* after the proper name of each, as Yusafzai, "the sons of Joseph," Iliaszai, "the sons of Elias," &c. The lesser divisions are termed *khel* or clan, with the proper name of each prefixed, as, for example, Akokhel, "the clan of Ako," Maddakhel, "the clan of Madda," Musakhel, "the clan of Moses," and so on. Each *zai* and *khel* has its own representative chief or *malik*. As many of them are generally associated together to form one tribe, the chief of the most powerful clan is recognized as the head of the tribe they

* Owing to its position between the rivers Swát and Kábul.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

The distribution of the tribes and the number of villages occupied by each.

Name of *pargana*.	Name of *tappa*.	Name of main tribe.	No. of villages occupied by them.	Colonies of other Afghans not belonging to the main tribe.	No. of villages occupied by them	Mixed population.	No. of villages occupied by them	Total villages.
Khalil Mohmand.	Mohmand	Mohmands	31	Khattaks ...	7	Sayads ...	4	42
				Mattannis ..		Awans ...		
				Moghals ...		Baghbans ..		
				Sirgunis ...				
	Khalifs ...	Khalifs ...	58	Orakzais ...	1	Sayads ...	6	65
						Awans		
						Afghans and Hindkis.	16 Mehals into which the Qasbah has been divided.	16
	Qasbah Bagram							
Daudzai ..	Daudzai ...	Daudzais .	57	Dalazaks ...	48	Awans ...	21	126
				Dúránís ...		Sayads ..		
				Kazalbashes .		Baghbans ...		
				Tirahi Afghans		Mallahs ...		
				Torkhels ...				
				Gumranis ...				
				Salarzais ...				
				Darbangish ..				
				Michni Mohmands				
				Khalifs ..				
				Anakhels ...				
				Malakzais ..				
				Beauts ..				
				Zarianis ...				
				Nurzais ...				
Doába ...	Gigiani ...	Gigianis ...	38	Dalazaks ...	11	Awans ...	4	53
				Moghals ...		Mallahs ...		
				Papinkhels ...		Sayads ...		
				Mohmands ...				
				Halimzais ...				
				Ghilzais ...				
				Shamokhels ...				
				Mullakhels ...				
Hashtnagar.	Muhammadzai.	Muhammadzais.	50	Muhammadzais.	14	Awans ...	9	73
				Dúránís ...		Sayads ...		
				Gumranis .		Khatris ..		
				Qazikhels ...				
				Khattaks ...				
				Yusafzai ...				
Khalsa ...	Khalsa ...	.....	...	Dúránís ...	32	Awans, Kands	36	68
				Ghilzais ...		Baghbans ...		
				Tirahis ...		Ghebas ...		
				Gumranis ...		Rajput *(Janjuhas)*, Koraish		
				Babis ...		Sayads ...		
				Tarins ...		Kalals ...		
				Urmars ...				
				Besuds ...				
				Mohmands ...				
				Muhammadzais.				
Khattak ...	Khattak ...	Khattaks..	55	Khattaks ...	17	Awans ...	11	83
				Tajokhels ...		Khattars ...		
				Moghals ...		Sayads ...		
				Afridis ...		Gujars ...		
				(Uriakhel) ...		Sikhs ...		
				Khalifs ...				
				Purmalis ...				
Yusafzai	Kamalzai	Kámalzais	30	Dúránís .	1	Sayads Pirs ...	3	34
Do.	Amanzai ...	Amánzais	42	Descendants of Umar Sahib's	1	Sayads ...	1	44
Do.	Razzar ...	Razzars	34	...	..	Akhundkhels	10	44
						Sayads Kaka Khel.		
Do.	Utmannama.	Utmannamas.	34	*(Uriakehl)* ...	3	Waraiches ...	4	41
				Gaduns ...		Sayads ...		
Do.	Baezai ...	Yusafzais	4	Bajauris	25	Shekhs ...	5	34
				Umar Sahib's descendants.		Sayads ...		
				Khattaks ...		Kashmiris ...		
				Utmankhels ...				
Total ...			436		160		130	723

collectively form. Each *malik* is subordinate to the chief or *khán* of the tribe; to him he makes his reports, and from him he receives his orders. The offices of *khán* and *malik* are hereditary, except in the case of manifest incapacity from mental imbecility or physical deformity, or from some objectionable quality of temper or general conduct; but there is nothing to prevent a man of courage and ability raising himself to the position of either. The independent powers of these chiefs—for the terms merely represent different degrees of rank of the same kind—are very restricted indeed. In matters affecting the welfare or interests of the tribe or clan, they cannot act in opposition to the wishes of the general community. These are ascertained through the *maliks* by *jírgah*, or council of the "elders" of each clan, and its sectional *khails*, separately first, and collectively afterwards. Each clan is a separate democracy. Their members are guided in their views by the "grey beards" or elders, the patriarchs of the different families, who, in concert with the *maḷik*, decide all matters relating to their own society. This is the regular course, but, in actual practice, the Pathán generally take the law into their own hands, and, on the principle that might is right, generally act much as they please.

Constitution of the Pathán tribe.

Disputes between members of the same clan are sometimes settled by their friends, the injured party receiving an equivalent for the injury suffered, but very seldom without the assistance of the elders and the *malik*; and they in their decisions are guided by the usages of *pukhtunwali*, a code framed on the principles of equity and retaliation. Thus *A* kills *B's* plough bullock; the matter is referred to the *jirgah;* they decide that *B* shall kill one of *A's* plough bullocks; he does so, and all parties are satisfied. Or *A* kills *B's charaikar*, or bondsman. *B* must be provided with another by *A*, and the matter ends. But if *A* kills *B*, then *B's* relatives demand the life of *A:* and if the *jirgah* succeed in handing him over to *B's* next-of-kin for revenge, the matter ends in *A's* death: otherwise, if *A* escapes, and one of his family is not sacrificed, a feud breaks out till the injured party is revenged. Between members of the same clan such disputes seldom lead to extremes; but where members of different clans are the principals, their respective clan divisions take up the quarrel as a personal one, and a settlement is seldom effected; for reprisals are made on both sides, and ultimately lead to a lasting estrangement or feud between the tribes; for, barbarians as they are, they are most sensitive to any insult or slur on their honour and independence. When undisturbed from without, the several tribes (in their natural state) are always opposed to each other; feuds, estrangements, and affrays are of constant occurrence; the public roads and private property are alike unsafe.* The men, although wearing arms as regularly as others do clothes, seldom or never move beyond the limits of their own lands except disguised as beggars or priests. Everywhere family is arrayed against family, and tribe against tribe, in fact one way and another every man's hand is against his neighbour. Feuds are settled and truces patched up, but they break out afresh on the smallest provoca-

Internal administration.

* This of course applies at the present day only to the country beyond the border.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Internal administration.

tion. Such is the ordinary condition of Yusafzai beyond the border. But when danger threatens from without, all family feuds and clan jealousies are at once forgotten, and all unite to repel the common enemy. Previous to the British occupation of the Yusafzai plain, men ploughed their fields with a rifle slung over the shoulder or a sword suspended at the waist, and watched the growth of their crops with armed pickets night and day. Similarly their cattle never went out to graze except they were protected by armed guards. Happily all is now altered, and the change is appreciated by the mass of the people. The cultivator now casts his seed on ground far away from his village, and is troubled by no anxieties for the safety of the crop. Children now lead out the cattle to graze and amuse themselves at play on the mounds formerly held as pickets. Men and women follow the tracts across the dreary and desert *maira* wastes unhindered and undisturbed, and in their visits from village to village daily perform journeys their grand-parents never dreamed of. The tales of heroism and deeds of bloodshed, of which almost any mound and hollow in the country is the site, are now fast becoming traditions, and are only heard of from actors amongst the old men, who in their village homes delight the youth untutored in the use of arms with thrilling recitations of the manly deeds of their fathers.

Status of the *arbábs*, *kháns*, and chiefs.

The *arbábs*, *kháns*, or chiefs were never powerful enough to act in opposition to the tribe; they were the acknowledged heads of their clan, which position they had acquired in the first instance by force of character. They could call upon the tribe to arm and take the field, and they were supposed to take the lead; but in matters affecting the welfare, or interests of the tribe, they could not act without the wishes of the community, ascertained by the *jirgah* or council of elders. Some of them have acquired exceptionally large shares of the common land, but in the *daftar*, *i.e.*, Shaikh Malli's allotment of land, they have nothing more than their proper share, which is in many instances very much less than that of other families.

Distribution of the tribes resident in Peshawar.

It will now be necessary to describe briefly the present distribution of the Afgháns and miscellaneous tribes resident in Peshawar, their members, leading men, and the settlement of the sub-tribes or clans, commencing with the tribes occupying the tract of country known as Yusafzai, which forms the north-east portion of the district.

At Shaikh Malli's allotment.

At Shaikh Malli's allotment the Yusafzai tract included, besides its present limits, the tracts of Swát and Bunér. The main divisions of the tribe were Yusafzais and Mandanrs. Shaikh Malli allotted each tribe a portion in the plains, as well as in the hills; the Mandanrs were strongest in the plain and the Yusafzais in the hills. In time the Mandanr tribes in the plains appropriated the plain lands of the Yusafzais, and the Yusafzais gained the hill land of the Mandanrs. This will account for the tract of country bearing the name of Yusafzai, although now held almost altogether by Mandanrs.

The pedigree table of Manno, the son of Mandanr.

Mandanr had four sons—Manno, Razzar, Mahmúd and Khizzar. Manno's sons were Utman and Usman; their descendants occupy the eastern corner of the Yusafzai plain. Utman had two wives. From the first are descended the Akazai, Kanizai and Alizai, collectively known as Utmanzai proper; from the second the Saddozai. A full

pedigree table, tracing the descent of the leading families, is given opposite page 89 of Captain Hastings' Settlement Report. They occupy that portion of the district which with *tappa* Baezai is now known as Yusafzai, a sub-division of the Peshâwar district.

The pedigree table of Manno, the son of Mandanr.

Tappa Baezai to the northwards was originally a portion of the allotment made to the descendants of Bazid, also known as Baezai, a grandson of Yusaf. At the present time possession in Baezai is held by some Baezais, Khattaks, and Utmankhels; the last two tribes were called in by the Baezais to strengthen themselves against the Kanizais, and the original feudal tenure on which they first held has grown into a proprietory one, which was upheld at Settlement. Some of the leading familes enjoy the title of *kháns*. The generality of leading men in villages are called *maliks*.

Tappa Muhammadzai known as Hashtnagar.

Continuing in a south-westerly direction, we come to the tribal tract of country occupied by the Muhammadzais, and known as Hashtnagar; its northern boundary abuts on the independent territory held by the Utmankhels and Kanizais. Commencing from fort Abazai, it lines the left bank of the river for a distance of 23 miles as far south as the large village of Kheshghi. The average width of the tract is 13 miles; on its outer or eastern boundary lies the Yusafzai tract, above described.

The Muhammadzai, otherwise known as Mahamandzai.

This tribe is the most important among the mixed population of Hashtnaggar, where they settled towards the close of the reign of Akbar. Dr. Bellew says of them: "They have always remained distinct from the Yusafzai until recent times, on account of sectarian differences in matters of religion; and moreover being nearer to the city of Peshâwar, they have always been more or less subject to its successive governors; whilst the Yusafzai on the adjoining plain managed, by the aid of their mountain retreats, to maintain more or less of independence. The district was for a long time held as a hereditary *jágír* by the Alikhel *kháns*, till Yar Muhammad Khán, Barakzai, became ruler of Peshâwar; he then farmed it himself, in common with the rest of the Peshâwar district. His rule lasted sixteen or seventeen years, and was succeeded by that of the Sikhs in 1832. During their stay they squeezed as much as they could out of the country, and in 1845 made the district over to Sayad Muhammad Khán, the son of Sardar Pír Muhammad Khán, and he held it till the British annexed the country in 1850. The population of Hashtnagar is a very mixed one, and is reckoned in all at about five and twenty thousand souls, and can muster about five thousand matchlock men. The tribe is descended from Muhammad, son of Zamand, and is divided into eight branches—Tangi, Sherpao, Umarzai, Turangzai, Utmanzai, Razzar, Charsadda, and Prang. Their pedigree is given at page 103 of Captain Hastings' Report. Each branch holds one of the eight large villages of which the *tappa* is composed.

Derivation of the name Hashtnagar.

General Cunningham, at page 50 of his *Ancient Geography of India*, considers the modern name of Hashtnagar may be only a slight alteration of the name Hastinagra or "city of Hasti," which might have been applied to the capital of Astes, the Prince of Penkelastis, and that the reference given by the people to the derivation of the name, from the eight towns, is simply a plausible meaning

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

given by a Persianized Muhammadan population, to whom the Sanskrit Hastinagra was unintelligible.

The distribution of property.

The distribution of property in the four upper villages is *puchawari, i.e.*, the areas are considered as representing 6,000 *puchas* or shares; in the four lower villages, the areas are considered as representing 480 *bakhras* or shares. There is no proportion between a *bakhra* and *pucha*, both mean a share; the different scale of internal distribution can only be accounted for by the fact that the shareholders in the Tangis, Sherpao, Umarzai and Turangzai must have been so numerous as to necessitate the division into so large a number of shares for distribution purposes. There is no *fixed area* for a share of *pucha*. There are both *sholgira* (rice bearing land), and *maira* (high land) hamlets. The former are along the banks of the Swát river; some of them are still held by the tribe, but many have slipped from their hands; the *maira* hamlets to the north and west are of recent origin, and, as a rule, were enjoyed by the leading *kháns* and *maliks*. The seven *maira* divisions of *tahsíl* Hashtnagar are (1) the Tangis, (2) Umarzai, (3) Turangzai, (4) Utmanzai, (5) Razzar, (6) Charsadda, (7) Prang, each of which has its main village and hamlets.

The large villages of Kheshgi and Nowshera were originally outlying hamlets of the Umarzai and Turanzai sub-divisions; they have been, since British rule, included with *tahsíl* Nowshera. Here also the leading men are known as *kháns* and *maliks*.

The Mandanrs, and Muhammadzais the most manly of all tribes.

This completes the Mandanrs and Baezais occupying the Yusafzai plain and the Muhammadzais; they, of all the tribes in the district, may be put down as the most manly and plain spoken, probably owing to their having remained independent so long after the other tribes, and consequently retaining much of the independent bearing of the Afghán.

The Gigianis.

South of Hashtnagar, enclosed by the rivers Swát and Kábul, and lying between the site of Panjpao on the north, and Garhi Sharif Khán on the south, is *tappa* Doába, the heritage of the Gigianis. They are the descendants of Daulat Qadam, said to have been an adopted son of Makh's; he was married according to some to Mussamát Gagi, said to be a daughter of Makh's; others say she was a daughter of Torbin Tarin, and it is after her they are called Gigianis. They are divided into two main clans, Hotak and Zirak. Captain Hastings gives their pedigree table at page 108 of his Settlement Report. The original distribution was by *kandis;* each *kandi* was made up of 100 *bakhras* (shares). *Tappa* Doába consisted of 36 *kandis*. The villages were either full *kandis*, or some proportional shares of a *kandi*.

The lands of this tribe were for many years held in *jágír* by the Durani *sardárs*. These *jágírdárs* were adepts at the art of rack-renting, and their exactions almost destroyed the proprietary tenures of the Gigianis. Had these *jágírdárs* held the lands of this *tappa* a few years longer than they did, it is probable that no distinction would have remained between the old proprietary and tenant classes, except in a few leading families. The treatment thus experienced by the Gigianis has left permanent traces on their character. They are

The Gigianis.

good cultivators, but have few of the sturdy qualities ordinarily attributed to Afgháns. The leading men of the Gigianis are, Sekandar Khán and Pir Muhammad Khán of Matta Moghalkhel, Akram Mian of Kangra, Khusal Khán of Ambadher, Dilawar Khán of Sarikh, and Malik Mozaffar of Nahakki.

The remainder of the *tappa* is occupied by Halímzai Mohmands and miscellaneous classes: to the former belong the Panjpao lands situated to the west of the *tappa*; they pay only a nominal revenue. Their village was razed in 1863, during which year they had given trouble; permission to rebuild on other sites has been granted, but as these sites are commanded by the Shabkadar fort, they prefer residing in independent territory, only visiting Panjpao at sowing and harvest time. This course agrees with their reputation for pride and stubbornness. The representative men among them are Ahmad Sher Khán, Muhamad Didar and Mir Abedin. Ahmad Sher is the only one who resides in British territory; he is apparently a well-wisher of Government, but he has not the greatest influence among the tribe. The hamlets of Panjpao are Mian Isa and Mardana.

Daudzai occupied mainly by the descendants of Daud, a colony of the Tarakzai clan of the hill Mohmands, and miscellaneous Afgháns and Hindkis.

The next tribal tract on the left bank of the Kábul is Daudzai, occupied mainly by the descendants of Daud, a colony of the Tarakzai clan of the hill Mohmands, and miscellaneous classes of Afgháns and Hindkis. The limits of the tract, which formed the original *tahsíl* boundaries, were between the Adezai branch of the Kábul river, the Shaikh-ka-katha and the Budni stream, and from Michni in the north-west to Akbarpura in the south-west. The tribe belongs to the Ghorikhel division, as distinguished from the Khakais, and settled in the district with the Khalíls and Mohmands, and received the rich lowlands on the right bank of the Kábul, between *tappas* Khalíl and Khálsa. There are three main sections of the tribe—Mamur, Yusaf, and Mandki. Captain Hastings gives their pedigree table opposite page 111 of his Report.

The Tarakzai clan of the upper Bár Mohmands.

Commencing with the upper part of the *tappa*, we come to a colony of the Tarakzai clan of the upper or Bár Mohmands. They occupy the upper villages, and like their neighbouring kinsmen, the Halímzai Mohmands, pay only a nominal revenue. The Tarakzai section of the Mohmands are said to have originally resided in that portion of the district known as Khálsa; they either left or were turned out in Jahangir's rule, and settled in the hills above the present Michni fort. In an encounter with the Daudzais they lost five men, and in exchange, as blood-money (*khun baha*), received the villages of Bela Mohmandan and Zormandi; these villages represent *daftar* and belong to the tribe. In Ahmad Shah's reign, Zain Khán, one of the leading men in the tribe and the ancestor of the Murchakhel section, was recognized as *khán*, and had 12 villages made over to him, in consideration of their command of the dams which turn the water of the Kábul river into the irrigation cuts of Khalíl, Daudzai, and Khálsa. In 1873, during Settlement operations, the tribe were fined Rs. 10,000 for their abetment of the murder of Major Macdonald, the Commandant of Fort Michni, which, it is hoped, will result in the improvement of their demeanour towards Government. The leading men among them are Khadi Khán, Gujar

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Khán, Sayad Muhammad Yaqub Khán, and Maaz Khán. Their land is minutely sub-divided, the people are much addicted to gambling, and there are no wealthy men amongst them.

A pedigree table of the Bár Mohmands traced to their main clans is given on page 113 of Captain Hastings' Report.

The Khalíls.

The Khalíl *tappa* of this district extends for 20 miles along the foot of the Khaibar hills, with an average breadth of ten miles from east to west, from the Kábul southwards to the commencement of the Mohmand *tappa*. It is bounded on the east by the *tappa* of Daudzai. Its area is 72·80 square miles. The Khalíls are descended from Khalíl, and are divided into four main clans—Mattezai Barozai, Ishaqzai, and Tallarzai. Capt. Hastings gives their pedigree table opposite page 117 of his Report. They, with the Mohmands and Daudzais, formed the Ghoriakhel clan of Afgháns, and were formerly settled along the banks of the Tarnak river, south of Ghazni. They descended to Pesháwar in the reign of Kamran, son of Babar, and with the assistance of that prince drove the Dalazáks across the Indus. From their residence in the open plain they have always been more subject than other tribes. Their chiefs are styled *arbábs*. They resemble the Yusafzai in a great measure. They wear, in winter, dark blue coats of quilted cotton, which are thrown aside as the summer advances, when a large Afghán skirt and a white and blue turban form the dress of the people. A *lungi*, either twisted round the waist or worn over the shoulder, is always part of their attire. The Khalíl *arbábs* in the time of the Sikhs held their lands in *jágír* or condition of service, and this was continued to them on the annexation of the Pesháwar district by the British. During the Mohmand disturbances in 1850-51 they permitted a number of the hostile members of this tribe to escape through their fief. For this misfeasance their *jágírs* were reduced, and they were temporarily exiled to Lahore, but afterwards were allowed to return to their homes. The *tappa* is irrigated by both the Bára and Kábul rivers; but even with this help in irrigation from the Kábul river, the tract is not as well cultivated or valuable as that of the Mohmands, their neighbours on the opposite bank of the Bára. The portion of Khalíl known as the Garhis, to the north-west, originally belonged jointly to the Daudzai and Khalíl tribes. They gave it to some Miáns, from whose ancestor, Sháh Rasul, the Khalíl *arbábs*, allege they purchased. The title of the leading men in this tribe is *arbáb*,* a word meaning lord, master, or cherisher, and conferred in the first instance by Sháh Jahan *Badshah* on Muhammad Asil Khán, Khalíl. Previous to that time their headmen were known as *maliks*. The *arbábs* are all of the Mithakhel section, and are now represented by Afas Khán, late Resaldar Major, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and Fateh Khán.—Their power and influence is much decreased since the Khaibar tribes came under direct management.

Across the Bára stream, on the south-west corner of the district, come the Mohmands. Their villages, with a few exceptions, are situated between the right bank of the Bara and the

* The meaning is also said to be derived from the words *ar* (master), *báb* (gate), *i.e.*, master of the Khaibar gate or pass.

Afridi hills. All but the five southern most villages are irrigated by Bára water. The irrigated land is very productive, and, compared with the adjoining land of the Khalíls, is superior, and it is more productive because of the greater number of proprietors, who are better farmers and more hardworking. There is a marked difference in the character of the occupants of the villages nearest the Afrídi border, and those whose villages are near the city. The troublesome villages in the Sikh time were Mashokhel and Adezai; their revenue was never collected without a show of force. The tribe is divided into five main sections—Mayárzai, Musazai, Dawezai, Mattanni and Sirgani. The pedigree table will be found on page 122 of Captain Hastings' Report. These plain Mohmands are of the same stock as the Bár or Hill Momands, but have been separated from them ever since the migration described at page 40. The Mohmand division is a very important part of the district, the character of the people, their proximity to, and frequent intercourse with, the independent tribes on their border being considered. In the more fertile part, on the south side of the Bára, there are several large and important villages, amongst which Mashukhel, Sulimankhel, Shahatkhel, Shaikh Muhammadi, Bazidkhel, and Badikhel, may be considered the principal. There are no villages in the district, excepting perhaps Tangi and Charsadda in Hashtnagar, and some of the large villages of Yusafzai, in which there is more crime committed than in these. The Badabher *thána* is partly from this, and partly from its situation on the Kohát road, and the passing and re-passing of Bassikhels, Galiwals, and Hassankhels to and from Pesháwar, carrying on their trade in firewood and salt, one of the most important in the district. The most remote large village on that border is Shaikhan, inhabited chiefly by a race of Shaikhs, who are somewhat venerated by the Afridis. The leading man now in the village is Sekh Mozuffar. In the further part of the Mohmand division, on the road to Kohát (*i.e.*, towards the Kohát pass), there are the important villages of Matanni and Adezai, which have often figured in the criminal annals of the district. Next to them may be mentioned Azakhel. The Bassikhel and Adamkhel are the Afrídi tribes opposite this portion of the border, but their arrangements and engagements with the Government rest with Kohat. The headmen of the Mohmands are also styled *arbábs*, and they allege this name was conferred by Sháh Jahan *Badshah*, but this is doubtful, as they are unable to produce *sanads* like their neighbours, the Khalíls, and it is quite possible the title, after being conferred on the Khalíls, was assumed by them. The *arbáb* of the Mohmands, on whom has also been conferred the title of *nawáb*, is Sarfaraz Khán.

The Khattak tract of country.

It now remains to describe the tract of country hitherto known as *tahsíl* Nowshera, occupied mainly by Khattaks and miscellaneous classes. That portion of it known as Khálsa and the Bandajat were originally the outlying hamlets of the Mohmands and Khalíls. Nowshera and Kheshgi, as already stated, were Hashtnagar hamlets. The Khattaks occupy the hills, the strip of plain between the hills, and the Lunda river to Nowshera, and a small tract of country between the stream and the Sir-i-Maira included with the *tahsíl* of Utman

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

Bolak. Its length is 50, breadth 15, and area 309 square miles. The different clans and classes of people, with the number and name of the chief villages in their possession, is given in the subjoined statement :—

The Khattak tract of country.

Name of clan or class of people.	No. of villages and hamlets held by them	Names of the chief village.
Khattaks	54	Akora Dag Ismailkhel
Afridis	8	Silla Khana
Miscellaneous Afghans	13	Nowshera Kalan, Pabbi Jallozai.
Miscellaneous Patháns ...	27	Kheshgi, Urmar, Taru Lahore.
Sayads	8	Pir Sabaq.
Sikhs	2	Kund
Hindkis	29	Jahangira, Khairábád, Budhai, Harguni, Masmah.

The Khattaks.

By far the largest number of villages are held by Khattaks—they are located in the south-eastern corner of the district. The derivation of their name has already been given at page 105. They are divided into two main branches, known as the eastern, or Akora, and the western, or Teri, Khattaks. The greater portion of the eastern Khattaks are attached to the Pesháwar district, while the remainder and the western Khattaks are attached to Kohát. The tribe was originally under one chief, who in the time of Akbar undertook to protect the road to Pesháwar, receiving in return a grant of the plain from Khairábád to Nowshera. At that time the communication with Pesháwar was in danger of being cut off by the depredations committed in the Giddar Galli: the chief had also sufficient power to collect from his tribe a small revenue, deriving further emoluments from the Jutta Salt Mine. His successors appear to have held their chiefship under the confirmation of the Delhi Emperors, and usually met a violent death at the hands of their relatives. The celebrated Khushal Khán was their most noted chieftain, whose wars with Aurangzeb in the latter part of the 17th century, and temporary imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior, have been noticed above. The last chief who held sway over the entire tribe was Saadat Khán, who received from Timur Sháh the title of Sarfaraz Khán, by which he is more commonly known, in recognition of services rendered by his brother Khushal Khán, to the king's father, Ahmad Sháh, when the former engaged the Mahrattas near Hasan Abdál, and lost his life in the action. At his death his son succeeded to the Khánship of the eastern Khattaks, and resided at Akora on the Kábul river: his authority extended to near Khushalgarh on the Indus, below which the western Khattaks remained under the authority of the sons of Shahbaz Khán, a younger brother of Sarfaraz Khán, who resided at Teri. When Ranjít Singh made first a passing visit to Pesháwar, he received assistance from Abbas Khán, the great-grandson of Sarfaraz, who was then the chief of the Akora Khattaks, which led to a friendship that aroused the jealousy of the Barakzai *sardárs* who invited him to Pesháwar, through Alim Khán, Orakzai, where he was imprisoned, and afterwards poisoned by order of Yar Muhammad Khán. Khwas Khán, brother of the late Abbas, was murdered by Afzal Khán, whose father, Najaf Khán, succeeded to the chiefship of Akora.

The Khattaks.

He continued in power for a long time, owing to his connexion with the three Barakzai *sardárs*, who married three of his nieces; but they received from him an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000. When the Sikhs took actual possession of Peshâwar, Najaf Khán fled to the hills, and they assumed the direct management of all the plain country of the eastern Khattaks, and built a fort at Jahangira. Subsequently Jafar Khán, cousin of the two murdered brothers, Abbas and Khwas, forming an alliance with Arsla Khán, the Chief of Zaida in Yusafzai, went against Najaf Khán, and expelled him from Nilab. This Jafar Khán had been a *jamadar* of horse under Captain Wade, but now became a rival for the khánship with Najaf Khán. The Sikhs had left all the hill villages as a *jágír* attached to the chiefship, stipulating that the Attock road should be kept open, and free from plunder. Its value was estimated at Rs. 10,000, including certain ferry dues and customs, and General Avitabile continued to transfer it at pleasure, until it was finally divided betwen Jafar Khán and Najaf Khán. Their *jágír* was confirmed to them by the *Darbár*, and when the second Sikh war broke out, Jafar Khán is said to have joined Chattar Singh with 1,000 men, and Najaf Khán to have gone to Pir Muhammad Khán at Peshâwar. The latter was murdered soon after, in the fort of Jahangira, by the sons of Khwas Khán in revenge for their father's death, and they immediately fled to Swát. Muhammad Afzal Khán was confirmed in his father's position by Dost Muhammad Khán, then at Peshâwar, and together with Jafar Khán, was found in possession at the annexation of the country. Jafar Khán is said to have been the first man to enter the fort of Attock for plunder after the retirement of Major Herbert, but neither he nor Muhammad Afzal Khán attempted to oppose, or molest the British force on their way to Peshâwar. Jafar Khán is a man of much cunning and intrigue, but not wholly devoid of qualifications for chieftainship, whilst Afzal Khán is both cruel and cowardly, and lowly esteemed throughout the country.

The Khattaks, as a people, are a most favourable specimen of Patháns, and deserved better leaders than have lately been in power over them: they retain all the good qualities for which they were renowned under Khushal the Great, are brave and independent, and the only Afghán tribe which can lay claim to faithfulness. Active and industrious, they are largely engaged in trade, and the evil name they at one time acquired was caused by the Afridis of Bori and Janakor, who plundered in the Ráwalpindi and Peshâwar districts, and found an asylum for themselves and a place of concealment for stolen property and imprisoned Hindus, in the Khattak jangals, under the sanction of Afzal Khán, against whom the Khattaks were powerless, as long as he exercised unlimited control over them. There are three classes amongst the Khattaks, apart from the general body of the people: 1st, the Khánkhel, which includes all the relatives of the chiefs; 2nd, the Fakirkhel; and, 3rd, the Kákakhel. The Fakirkhel are the descendants of the elder brother of the renowned Khushal Khán, who retired from the world at the instigation of Rahimkar, the great Khattak saint, since which time they have acquired a character for sanctity, and to them is entrusted the

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

The Khattaks.

keeping of valuable property in times of public danger, or internal feuds. The Kákakhel are the descendants of the above saint, whose shrine is seven miles from Nowshera, much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage, and believed by popular superstition to be the scene of many miraculous cures. Very large numbers of people assemble annually from all neighbouring countries in April, at a fair held at the shrine, which is picturesquely situated amongst the low hills skirting the plain, covered at this point with dense brushwood. This class has acquired a veneration beyond the district, and is respected amongst the wildest tribes of Afghánistan; one instance only has occurred of a Kákakhel being killed even by the Khaibaris, who were compelled to pay a large fine on the occasion. Zaid Gul of this tribe lived at the foot of the hills to the south of the Kohát Pass, near Fort Mackeson, and was the Pir of Adamkhel Afrídís; other members of the family are Hama Gul, Didar Gul, Hajab Gul, and Roedad Gul, residing at Abazai on the Swát river, whose influence in the Utmánkhel hills is equally great. The remainder of the Khattaks are exceedingly poor: their country, with the exception of a small strip on the bank of the river, being rugged, full of ravines, and unfit for cultivation. Their hills afford good pasturage for cattle and goats, of which they have large herds. All their bullocks are trained to carry loads, and the Khattaks form the principal carriers of salt to the countries north of Pesháwar and all Afghánistan. To this circumstance of foreign travel, which cannot but tend to civilize, combined with a desire to retain the respect entertained for large divisions of their tribe, they are, perhaps, indebted for the good qualities which so remarkably distinguish them from all other Afgháns. An immigration from the Khattaks to the Lundkwár valley in Yusafzai took place some generations back. That valley was then occupied by several clans of the Baezai tribe of Yusafzai, the remainder of whom were in Swat. Apprehensive of the encroachments of the Mandan clan, they called the Khattaks to their assistance, who finally succeeded in establishing themselves on the lands of the Mattorzai, which have remained in their possession to the present day.

The Cherat hill, about 4,500 feet high, is situated in the Khattak range of hills; it was the common land of the villages Silla Khana, Kotli, and Shah Kot payan. Government is now in possession and the hill is used as a sanitarium for troops, who are regularly located there from the Pesháwar and Nowshera cantonments during the summer months. There are—besides the well-known shrine of Káka Sahib in the village of Ziarat—

Shekh Babar Sahib's,	Faqir Sahib's,
Mirza Gul Sahib's	Habak Sahib's.

Sayads.

Amidst the fanatical Pathán population of this district the Sayads naturally occupy a position of great social prominence. Writing especially of the Yusafzai Sayads, Dr. Bellew says: "Their bold, obtrusive, and continual publication of their sacred character and descent draws from the ignorant a reverential and awful respect, and at the same time gives them great influence over the mass of the people they dwell amongst. They use this to their own advan-

tage, and manage to get from the Afgháns considerable tracts of land in gift as a perpetual and hereditary possession, besides the usual alms-offerings. The *astanadárs* (persons who hold land acquired by virtue of the reputed sanctity of their ancestry) of this class are very numerous, and in some localities constitute entire village communities. On this they live peaceably and undisturbed as agriculturists, and enjoy the respect and good-will of their duped neighbours. The Sayad is always addressed by the title of Sháh."

Sayads.

In the popular phraseology of the district all the tribes of Indian, as opposed to Pathán, origin, are massed together under the designation of "Hindki." With the exception only of the trading classes (separately noticed below) these are all Muhammadans. The principal tribes among them are those of the Gujars and Awáns. The Awáns are fully described in the Gazetteer of the Jhelam district.

Hindkis.

The Gujars are especially numerous in Yusafzai, where they form the entire population of many villages. They are distinctly of Indian blood, and are probably descendants of the original Hindu population of the country, though they have adopted much of the Afghán into their customs and mode of life. They are found also in some numbers beyond the border of British Yusafzai. There they have no hereditary possessions, but are held in a state of vassalage under Afghán masters, paying a land-tax for their holdings in cash or kind, and liable to military service and forced labour at the call of the *khán* under whose protection they live. As a class they are a fine, healthy, and athletic race, much resembling the Afgháns among whom they dwell. They are exclusively engaged in agriculture or as graziers. As a rule they are said to be "comfortably, if "not richly off, according to their own standard of comparison," maintaining more independence than the other tribes located among the Pathán. Dr. Bellew states that in Yusafzai "they equal in "numbers about the whole of the rest of the population not Afghán," and he puts down their total number (apparently in the *whole* of the Yusafzai territory including Independent Yusafzai) as 75,000 souls.

Gujars.

The Awáns, Kashmiris and other Hindkis constitute the class of mechanics, artificers, and petty traders throughout the district. They are styled collectively *hamsáya* or *fakir*, terms which Dr. Bellew renders 'dependant' and 'vassal.' The same writer gives the following list of trade-guilds represented in Yusafzai: *baghwan*, gardener, fruiterer, &c.; *charikar*, ploughman, cultivator; *chamar*, tanner, carrier, &c.; *darzi*, tailor; *dum*, musician, &c.; *gadba*, shepherds and cattle graziers (they are also called *rawanri*); *jolah*, weavers, ropemakers, &c.; *kalal*, potters and brick-makers; *lóhar*, ironsmiths (called also *taudi karigar*); *musalli*, sweepers, grave-diggers, &c. (also called *shahikhel*); *nandap*, cotton dressers and cleaners; *rangraiz*, dyers (also called *dhobi*); *nai*, barbers, dentists, cuppers, &c.; *pansari*, druggists, perfumers, &c.; *parachu*, carriers, pedlars (also called *tattar*); *teli*, oil and soap-makers; *tarkhan*, carpenters (also called *sari karigar*,); *zargar*, gold and silversmiths, jewellers. The members of each profession or trade-guild live in separate societies, intermarrying only among themselves.

Hamsáyas or *Fakirs*.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.

They have as a rule no proprietary rights in the soil, but rent their houses from the Afghán owners, and generally a patch of land as well; for, as a rule, none of these classes can live entirely by their trades, the demand for their services being too small to yield a return sufficient for the support of a family.

Slaves.

One stage lower than the *hamsáya* is the *ghulám*, or slave. These are said to be still numerous in Yusafzai, even within the British border, where, however, they are of course no longer bought and sold. They are the descendants of former captives of war, or purchases from the hill tracts north of Kábul. They perform household, farm, or agricultural labour for their masters, and are in return fed, clothed, and sheltered, and, as a rule, are much more comfortably off than many of the independent mechanic class. The men are termed *mrai*, and are valued as faithful servants and bodyguards. They are said to be true and brave in the defence of their masters. The women are termed *windza*. They perform the household duties in the women's departments, grind the corn, &c. They often serve as the concubines of their master, and sometimes rise to favour, are set free, and then legally married to their former master. Most of the *kháns* and *maliks* still possess their hereditary slaves, and some of them own over a hundred of both sexes. They are, however, now fast diminishing by desertions and prohibition of new purchases within British limits.*

Religious classes, *Astánadárs.*

There are several classes in the enjoyment of religious respect from the Afgháns. They are often collectively described under the designation of *oztánadár*. The *astánadár*, as the name implies, is a "place possessor"—one whose ancestors in remote or recent times acquired the title of *zburg*, or *buzurg*, or "saint," by a notoriety for superior holiness and piety and the performance of miracles during life, and who after death left either memorials of the same in the shape of mosques, shrines, or other sacred spots, or at least a traditional reputation for sanctity. The descendants of such, by virtue of the sanctity of their ancient *zburg*, and the present benefits dispensed at his shrine (*astán* or *ziárat*), as well as by the unanimous accord of the people, enjoy at the present day, besides a superior and uncontested character for sanctity and righteousness, many secular and religious privileges. Any Musalmán may become the founder of a race of *astánadárs* provided he have the qualification of a *zburg*, and be acknowledged as such during life. With the Afgháns there are four different classes of the *astánadár*—(1) *sayad;* (2) *pir;* (3) *mian;* and, (4) *sahibzáda*. The *sayad* class has been already commented upon. The *pírs* are the descendants of Afgháns or Pakhtuns, whose ancestors become recognized as *zburgs* during life, or received the title after death through the cunning and exertions of interested parties. As descendants of holy Pakhtuns, the *pírs* exact many exclusive and hereditary rights and privileges from their own people. Their hereditary share in the soil is rent free; their tribes are exempt from labour and taxes of every kind; and, in common with the rest of the priestly order, they receive a share of the produce of the fields and flocks. They claim the

* Bellew.

pre-eminence amongst their own religious orders and the precedence amongst their own people, with its concomitants of respect and deference, wherever they move amongst them. The *pír* takes the front rank, and leads the congregation in their prayers. He is addressed as *bádsháh* whenever spoken to; and, on joining an assembly, is welcomed by the rising of the congregation, who remain standing till the *pír* is seated. The *pír* has also the *entrée* to the women's apartments, a portion of the Afghán's house most jealously closed to all others of whatever creed or caste. All *pírs* are comfortably off, if not rich. Their social position and privileges are hereditary, and quite independent of individual merit; for many can neither read nor write and are equally ignorant of the religion they profess. Many of them are bad characters, and some of them are notorious highwaymen and burglars. The *miáns*, in hereditary privileges and qualities of sanctity, much resemble the *pírs*, with the difference that their ancestors were not Afgháns, but *hamsáyas*. They enjoy similar privileges and powers to those of the *pírs*, but are debarred from entering the women's apartments. The *sáhibzádas*, though resembling the *pírs* and *miáns* in most points, rank after them, because their ancestors are supposed to have been of a somewhat lower grade of sanctity. They are not so numerous as the other classes, but are more wealthy. The Swát *sahib*, or *akhun*, is an instance of a *zburg* whose descendants will be styled *sáhibzáda*.

Religious classes, *Astánadárs*.

Of the Hindu population, Bráhmans, Khatris, and Aroras represent the greater portion. A few Hindú families are found in almost every village, conducting the local trade, and in the capacity of bankers and money-lenders, managing the pecuniary affairs of the agricultural population. But a large majority of them are collected in Peshawar, where, though not engrossing the whole trade, they yet form a most influential body, to whose enterprise the commercial prosperity of the city is mainly due. A few Bráhmans engage in the professional duties of their caste, but the majority devote themselves to secular business. There is nothing in their manners or mode of dress to claim remark. Though dwelling in the heart of a bigoted Muhammadan population, they retain most of their religious rites and national characteristics undisturbed. As being the channels through which all the money matters and other business of the population are carried on, they enjoy the protection of the Afgháns, and are on the whole a very flourishing class. Of the Aroras, 4,152 return themselves as Uttarádhi, and 2,818 as Dahra in the Census of 1881. The chief Khatri clans were as follows: Bunjai, 2,778; Bahri, 1,217; Charzati, 1,083; Kapur, 743; Marhotra, 603; Bedi, 317; Daighar, 312; Sarin, 174.

Hindus.

SECTION D.—VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND TENURES.

Part I.—Rights in Land.

Table No. XV shows the number of villages held in the various forms of tenure, as returned in quinquennial table XXXIII of the Administration Report for 1878-79. But the accuracy of the figures is more than doubtful. It is in many cases simply impossible to class a village satisfactorily under any one of the ordinarily recog-

Village tenures.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

nised tenures; the primary division of rights between the main sub-divisions of the village following one form, while the interior distribution among the several proprietors of each of these sub-divisions follow another form, which itself often varies from one subdivision to another. The table in the margin shows the number of the villages in each *tahsíl*, and the tenures under which they were classed at the Regular Settlement. This statement is not quite correct, as some of the villages classed *pattidári* were really *pattidári bhayachara*, owing to the formation of separate *kandis* formed at that Settlement for owners holding land according to possession, chiefly *seri khors* and *mafidárs*.

Village tenures.

Name of Tahsíl.	Zamindari.		Pattidari.	Bhayachara.	Pattidari and Bhayachara.	Total.
	Landlord.	Communal.				
Peshawar ...	5	1	77	8	64	155
Nowshera ...	4	4	29	25	63	125
Doaba Dandzai	3	30	126	..	..	159
Hashtnagar ..	10	4	9	15	35	73
Mardán ...	12	14	28	58	...	112
Utman Bolak ...	1	15	67	18	...	101
Total ...	35	68	336	124	162	725

Tribal communities.

In the Pesháwar district tribal take the place of village communities, the tribal territory being parcelled out into blocks of which each is held separately by a clan or section of a clan. The manner of this allotment, the original constitution of the communities thus formed, and the manner in which they have gradually been moulded into something more nearly corresponding with the villages of the type more familiar in the Punjab will be described in the following pages. First, the existing state of affairs will be sketched, and then the successive steps will be traced by which that state was arrived at.

The distribution and allotment of the country by Shaikh Mali.

The distribution and allotment of the country on some recognized system was as already stated at page 46 entrusted to Shaikh Mali of the Akazai clan; this was about the eleventh generation after Qais, the ancestor of the Afgháns; the allotment to the present day is known as Shaikh Mali's *taksím*. The first step towards his distribution was an enumeration of the people,—men, women and children; he thereby ascertained the total number of shares* required for each main tribe, and then the country was divided into main divisions, equal to a certain number of shares. Lots were afterwards drawn and the main divisions allotted. The further interior distribution was carried out on the same principle by the people.

Periodical *veshes* (redistributions) at fixed periods.

The distribution and allotment of the land made by Shaikh Mali was admittedly imperfect; to remedy its inequalities and also to keep up a common interest by the whole tribe, periodical redistributions (*vesh*) were provided at fixed periods. These redistributions were made by casting lots. At a redistribution a re-enumeration of the tribes was made, and if it happened that the division of land which had fallen to a certain tribe contained more than the number of shares to which they were entitled by the new enumeration, a part of another tribe, whose shareholders were in excess of the land which had fallen to them, or colonists who had accompanied the main tribe, were associated for the shares with the tribe who had

* The share of a man, woman, and child was the same.

land in excess of shareholders. The *vesh* or redistribution of the main divisions and *tappas* has ceased for many years. The interior redistribution of the villages in *tappas* and of *kandis* and *tals* in villages lasted long after, and was in existence in a few villages when Settlement commenced; it has now been altogether put a stop to, except in the village of Kheshgi, where one of the *vands* (or divisions of land) adjoining the river is liable to the effects of alluvion and diluvion.*

Periodical *veshes* (redistributions) at fixed periods.

The mode of apportionment is thus described by Dr. Bellew. The procedure followed is still to be seen in actual working, on the occasion of any division of land undertaken at the present day.

"The land to be divided is first marked off into compact blocks called *wand*, each of which is sub-divided into the required number of allotments. After the measurement and primary division of a *wand*, its distribution is regulated by lot, or, as it is termed, casting the *pucha* or *hisk*. It is thus managed. The representative of each of the *khels* to share in the distribution selects a private mark (a piece of wood, or a rag, a grain of maize or pellet of sheep's dung or a stone, or any substance near at hand), which, in the presence of all, he hands over to the 'greybeard' appointed to cast the lot, declaring it to be his token. The 'greybeard' having collected all the tokens and seen them severally recognized, gathers them together in the skirt of his frock, and then walks round the *wand*, followed by the assembly; and as he passes them, throws on each of the plots marked off the first token that comes into his hand. The several plots then become the possession of the *khels* severally represented by the token thrown out on them. Each plot is then successively divided and allotted in a similar manner to the divisions of the *khels* and their several respective families. In the ultimate divisions, the portions of land are often of very small extent, and are frequently styled *pucha*, after the process thus described.

"In thus dividing the land for cultivation, the *wands* are in detached plots all round the village, roads, watercourses, and wastes intervening. Each *wand* is known by a separate name, just like a farmer's fields at home, mostly expressive of some quality of the soil, or position, &c., as *irai wand*, *shigai wand*, 'the ash field,' 'the sand field,' &c. The division of the land, it will thus be seen, gives each section or tribe, or clan, a fixed possession in the soil. It will also be observed that each individual's *daftar* is not in one unbroken plot, but scattered according to lot in the different *wands*. This is necessary, so that each shall share alike, as far as possible, in the good and bad land. Very often, and beyond the British border always, in one tribe where the several *khels* possess lands of varying quality, the lot of some having fallen on good and that of others on inferior land, it is customary to exchange places at fixed periods of five, ten, or more years. The land always remains the *daftar* of the original owners, but is mapped out afresh for distribution amongst the new owners, who all share equally with those of their own tribal divisions, without reference to rank. In these exchanges between the tribes, only the houses are left standing, and often these are deprived of their timbers."

The great objection to the redistribution system was the want of assurance of prolonged enjoyment, without which it is difficult to expect improvements. The necessity too, *i.e.*, the common

* It still exists in Bannú, in an appendix to the Gazetteer of which district will be found a very full account of the custom.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

interest of the whole tribe in their tribal allotment, no longer exists as it undoubtedly did when there was no settled Government.

Sub-divisions of village and land.

The land is called *daftar*, and is divided into lots or shares known as *brakhas*, or *bakhras*, and *puchas* in Hashtnagar. These shares may be one piece of land; sometimes they are situated in two or three places, but are often proportional shares in every *vand* (or division of land) within the village area. In the irrigated part of the district the allotment of the land for a *bakhra*, or share, depends on the water distribution, without which the land is of little value; but in Yusafzai, where the land is altogether dependent on rain, a *bakhra* represents a proportional share in every description of land in the village—all alike possess a share of *good*, *medium* and *inferior* land. The villages are usually divided into *kandís* (sections) corresponding to the word *taraf* in the Punjab, and the *kandís* are again sometimes sub-divided into *tals*. A *kandi* usually has its own mosque (*jamáit*), and *hujra* or guest-house.

Village officers.

The figures in the margin show the number of *zaildárs* and village headmen. There are very few *zaildárs*, as the policy of appointing such men in this district was called in question by the local officers when the Settlement was in progress. They and the chief *lambardárs* get one per cent. on the land revenue of their circles. The *lambardárs* get five per cent. on the revenue. The head-quarters of the *zails*, together with the prevailing tribes in each, are shown at the top of the next page. In hamlets, the *lambardárs* of the original village have been considered as also representing the hamlet. *Arbábs*, *kháns*, and leading men have been considered *lambardárs* of their own or family lands, and in some cases, where desired and their claims found to be good, appointed *lambardárs* for the *kandi* in which their land is situated.

Tahsíls.	Zaildárs.	Chief headmen.	Village headmen.
Pesháwar ...	6	14	445
Doába Daudzai ...	6	5	341
Nowshera ...	7	6	270
Hashtnagar ..	..	...	263
Mardan ...	...	...	448
Utmán Bolák ...		1	353
Total ...	19	26	2,120

The village *jirga* or council.

The village servants.

The elders (*mishran*) and the *maliks* compose the *jirga* or village council; they are referred to on all questions of custom, and matters affecting the village society. The village servants usually receive small grants of land free of charge in consideration for their service. They only intermarry amongst themselves, for instance, weaver with weaver, *dúm* with *dúm*. They are now only known by the trade they carry on; they can give no tribe or section to which they belong, or have belonged. Many of them are descendants said to have come into the district with the Afgháns, while some may be descendants of the old inhabitants of the country.

First settlement of a tribe.

Major James thus dercribed the manner in which the present distribution of rights has grown up:

"The Pathán families at first located themselves in one spot, or in villages adjacent to each other, for the sake of mutual protection, the remainder of the *tappa* being held in common, and used chiefly as pasturage. Each man cultivated his *bakhra* or any portion of it, at pleasure, paying no tribute or share of the produce to any one, his duty to the tribe requiring only that he should join in all offensive

Village officers.

Tahsil.	Zail.	No of villages	Annual land revenue.	Prevailing caste or tribe.
			Rs	
Peshawar.	Kasba ...	16	27,709	Bághbán, Awán, Afghán, with a few Saiyads.
	Landi Yarghajo ...	18	55,159	Afgháns, with a few Sheikhs and Saiyads
	Koh-i-dáman: (Mohmand) ..	12	36,409	Afgháns.
	Chamkanni ...	12	30,475	Afgháns, with a few Awáns.
	Khalfi ...	66	97,939	Afgháns (Khalfi), with Awáns.
	Budhai ...	7	6,145	Khand, and Awán in about equal numbers.
	Masima ...	23	12,105	Awáns.
Nowshera.	Kheshgi ...	7	9,725	Afgháns (Khataks), with some Gújars and Moghals
	Pabbi ..	18	20,633	Afgháns (Urmur and Khatak.)
	Nowshera	10	14,633	Do. (Khatak), with some Awáns
	Khatak ...	31	3,113	Do. (Khatak).
	Saidu ...	20	5,776	Do.
	Jal-ozai ..	11	7,216	Do
	Dáúdzai ...	14	14,675	Afghán (Dáúdzai).
Doaba Daudzai.	Matta ...	14	31,309	Afgháns (Gigiáni) and Afgháns (Moghalkhel)
	Gulbela ...	60	58,351	Afgháns (Dáúdzai and Bahlolzai) with some Mohmand.
	Ambadher ...	22	39,525	Afgháns (Gigiáni and Sulemánzai).
	Sháh Alam ...	11	12,305	Do. (Dáúdzai).
	Charpariza ...	23	27,525	Do.
	Dáúdzai ...	27	31,664	Do.

First settlement of a tribe.

or defensive operations, undertaken in accordance with the resolutions arrived at by the tribal *jirga* or council.

Settlement of non-proprietors.

"Very little land, in the immediate vicinity of the villages, was at first brought under cultivation, but this was increased with their numbers, and when cultivators from other parts settled amongst them. These were styled *fakírs*, and the system usually adopted with them was to require service only in lieu of the land which they were allowed to cultivate on their own account. This service consisted chiefly of attendance on the *daftari*, or proprietor, in his raids and fights with his neighbours, in furnishing grain and grass for his guests, and providing beds and blankets for their use in the *hujras*, or houses set apart in each quarter of a village for the reception of guests, keeping in turn watch and ward, with occasional demands for labour in building and at harvest time. The priesthood had no share allotted to them under these distributions, but it was incumbent on the communities to set aside a provision for them, as *seri* or free-gift. This primitive order of things continued for many years, but by degrees several of the *khans* assumed rights and privileges which did not of right belong to them, and collected fees from the non-proprietary members on the occasion of births and marriages.

Outlying hamlets.

"The encroachments of one clan upon the lands of another led to the establishment of *bandas*, or hamlets towards the boundaries of the *tappas*. These were occupied partly by the poorer Pathán members, but chiefly by the non-proprietary cultivators, who still paid no portion of the produce, but held the land on the condition of warding off aggression, and joining the tribe in its expeditions, their distance from the original settlements exempting them from the minor services formerly exacted. The personal character of some of the *khans* enabled them at this time to make further innovations, and they frequently acquired such power as to enable them to settle villages on their own accounts, realizing a certain portion of the produce, and even to remove proprietors from one locality to

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

another. But the feeling of the people has always been so antagonistic to these assumptions on the part of their chiefs that the latter found it usually more prudent to accept waste lands from the brotherhood as *seri*, or free-gift, than to take possession by open violence. The state of Yusafzai prior to the Sikh rule exemplifies the above condition of the communities, one which could not remain in force when the government of the country passed into other hands. The change took place earlier in other parts of the district, and when the Sikhs possessed themselves of Peshâwar the description applied to Yusafzai alone.

Outlying hamlets.

Inám and proprietary exemption.

"In other *parganas* the claims of Government introduced a more complicated system. So long as no demand was made upon the proprietors, they were content that their lands should be held by cultivators on a service tenure, their own position and influence in the tribe depending in a great measure on the number of their followers. But when that demand was enforced, it became their object to cast the burden upon the cultivators; and this gave rise to the large exemptions, under the name of *inám*, which exist in all villages. It was in point of fact the portion of the estate cultivated by the proprietors themselves, and although a comparatively small share of this now remains to them, it is still absolutely large; in Khalíl it is one-fourth, in Mohmand one-sixteenth, of the whole. The nature of this *inám* must be borne in mind, or we shall be apt at the present day to confound it with the *málikána*. It has nothing to do with the fees paid to managing *lambardárs*, an office unknown prior to our rule, when the villages were in the hands of farmers, either Hindú capitalists or influential *arbábs* and *maliks*. It is still connected with, and evidences proprietary right; none but a *daftari* can claim *inám*, and the portion of a village thus excluded from the settlement is the property of the brotherhood. In former days it represented the actual cultivation of the proprietary body, and was the only profit accruing to them from the estate beyond that of personal services of the nature previously described. From the remainder of their lands they collected nothing, the cultivators being responsible for the Government share. The farmers found it to their interest to increase this *inám*, in favour of influential *maliks*, but in most cases it had been gradually reduced, and confined to small grants to the chief proprietors, indicative of those rights in the estate which have been now acknowledged and recorded. It is, however, not unfrequently found that the portion of this *inám* held by an individual is his sole share in the estate, all other rights, which his ancestors may have possessed, having passed out of his hands.

"The system of joint village responsibility was unknown prior to annexation, but it has not been found difficult to introduce it; and, indeed, it is consonant with the habits of the people in other than revenue matters. But whatever peculiarities may have existed formerly amongst Pathán communities with reference to land tenures, they had been mostly removed under the operation of the systems introduced by successive Governments; and now that joint responsibility has been enforced, there is little, with the exception of a few local usages and peculiarities, to distinguish the tenures of this district from those which exist in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab."

Classes of overlords and proprietors.

In further illustration of the modifications wrought upon the old Pathán system, Major James proceeds to enumerate the classes of which the villages were composed at the time of annexation—the *kháns*, the *arbábs*, the *maliks*, and the *daftaris*. The following is an abridgment of his remarks. He says:—

The *kháns* and *arbábs*.

"The *kháns*, of whom I have spoken, were found only in Yusafzai and Hashtnagar. In the other *parganas* their place was supplied by

arbábs. The latter, as farmers of the revenue, exercised great influence amongst the village communities, which they owed more to their official position than to rank as chiefs, which gave them *per se* no superior share in the inheritance. Their office, however, enabled them to appropriate much to which they had no title, and on our assuming charge of the district, they were mostly in possession of large estates. They were continued in the enjoyment of these as *jágírdárs*, but their services were dispensed with as farmers of the revenue; even under the Sikhs it was only in the Mohmand and Khalíl *tappas* that they maintained their full power, in which districts their services could not well be dispensed with at that time, as it was chiefly through them that the hill tribes were kept in check, and the peace of the district preserved. In the Doába, Daudzai and Khalsa *tappas*, the Sikh Government either exercised a more direct interference, or placed the Barakzai *sardárs* in power, and the *arbábs* were held in but little account. The *arbábi* in all these is now practically extinct.

The *khánz* and *arbábs*.

"Next in importance were the *maliks*, or heads of families. Owing to the peculiar jealousy amongst Patháns of the assumption of authority by individuals, the number of this class was very large, and a village was a cluster not merely of several branches of a tribe, but of small families, the members of which, bound together by the closest ties of kindred, yielded obedience only to their respective *maliks*. The office was in its nature hereditary. . . . . It was this portion of the proprietary body which was chiefly in the enjoyment of *inám;* and though the other proprietors shared in it, yet this was very much at the option of the *maliks* in whose names the exemptions were made. They were in fact nothing more than the heads or representatives of families united together for purposes of mutual advantage, but entirely independent of each other, and mutually jealous of any interference. The Sikhs held every *malik* responsible for the family which he represented, but one *malik* was never associated with another in this responsibility. In one village, therefore, there might be 30 or 40 *maliks*, and they must not be confounded with the *lambardárs*, or managing proprietors of our time. One of the chief difficulties which at first presented themselves at the Settlement was the introduction of joint responsibility, and the nomination of men from amongst the proprietors who should enter into engagements with the Government. It was not, indeed, advisable to abolish the office *in toto*, as it formed one of our best securities for the peace and well-being of the villages, but it was evidently desirable for revenue purposes to limit the number of engaging proprietors, and this has gradually been effected throughout the district, except in Yusafzai, where the state of society is such as will not yet admit of such radical change. The fee which is realized for the remuneration of the *lambardárs* is distinct from the *inám*, which latter must still be considered as the joint property of the brotherhood, or of such portion of them as have been in acknowledged possession of it.

The *maliks*.

"The remaining body of proprietors are styled *daftari*, holding their ancestral shares in virtue of their descent from the founder of the family. In explanation of much that at first sight is calculated to tend to misapprehension, it may be noted that the measurement of land was totally unknown; the shares having been originally allotted according to the capabilities of the several tracts, remained in joint possession of *the family;* the title of the individual was never suffered to become extinct, though the actual extent of that title was never definitely

The *daftarís* or proprietors.

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

assigned beyond his right to work one, two, or more ploughs in the *daftar* as the fractional portion of a *bakhra* or share.

Rights of absentees.

"In former times, when land was plentiful and cultivators few, this circumstance entailed no inconvenience; a man left his home to seek service in foreign countries, and returned after the lapse of years to find his claim uncontested. Under the Durani and Sikh Governments also, when actual possession was accompanied by personal responsibility for the revenue, such emigrations were more frequent, but still the returning Pathán was always welcomed home, as strengthening his party, and adding to the stock from which the Government demand was to be paid. But under all circumstances, and after any length of absence, the Pathán could claim his rights, and he cared not who cultivated the land in the meantime, resting assured that he would acquire possession whenever it suited his convenience. During the first years of our rule, these absentee proprietors found their claims, for the first time, contested, and in dealing with such cases it was necessary to allow a great latitude to parties preferring them. It was evidently most agreeable to the public feeling that the latter should be reinstated, but at the same time it was undoubtedly desirable that some limitation should be fixed; accordingly the present Settlement has been considered the appropriate time for finally determining all such disputed points. Where possession could not be proved for more than one generation, the claim was rejected; but in cases where such possession was clear, either the claimant received the whole or a portion of the land, or, being recorded as the proprietor, became entitled to receive a fixed percentage on the revenue demand from the non-proprietary cultivator, whose right to the cultivation of the land was declared.

Tenants.

"Little need be said of the position of the remaining portion of the community, comprising, as elsewhere, the hereditary cultivators and tenants-at-will. The former, usually styled amongst Pathán, *fakirs*, held their land originally upon a service tenure; but when the country passed into the hands of a settled Government, and revenue was demanded, it was upon them that the burden chiefly fell. At annexation, therefore, we found them in the actual possession of all proprietary rights, except that of sale or transfer, but acknowledging a vague liability to ejectment from a portion of their holdings on the appearance of the rightful owner. The service too which they had in former times been called on to render had, in the course of years, and the social changes created by successive Governments, gradually become less definite, and may be said indeed to have depended solely on the power of the *daftari* to exact them. Everything tended to make their position one of independence. On the one hand, the proprietors were interested in retaining them on the estate; and, on the other hand, the Government farmers supported a class to which they mainly looked for profit. The ejectment to which I have stated them to be liable, applied only to such lands as they occupied in the absence of the *daftari*; they were all in possession of shares assigned to them as *fakirs*, to the occupation of which they retained a hereditary right. What remained to be determined at the present Settlement was the extent to which the latent right of proprietors should be acknowledged and enforced in the lands which cultivators had occupied in their absence, and this has been done, as above explained, with reference to the merits of each case. In Yusafzai, the *khans* and *maliks* have retained more of the primitive system, and the *fakirs* have been made to pay a share of the produce to them in addition to the small Government demand, the share so taken being one-third and one-fourth of the whole. This also has been adjusted and the share of produce commuted into a percentage on the revenue demand. The tenants-at-will received land on stated terms for the two seasons of the year, and were

responsible for the revenue of those seasons. Amongst this class may be included the numerous personal servants who received their wages by such assignments of land, the proprietor usually furnishing the seed and bullocks and receiving half the produce, being responsible himself for the revenue. More generally, however, such holdings were assigned from the *inám* lands upon which there was no demand."

Statistics of proprietary tenures.

Table No. XV shows the number of proprietors or shareholders and the gross area held in property under each of the main forms of tenure, and also gives details for large estates and for Government grants and similar tenures. The figures are taken from the quinquennial table prepared for the Administration Report of 1878-79. The accuracy of the figures is, however, exceedingly doubtful; indeed land tenures assume so many and such complex forms in the Punjab that it is impossible to classify them successfully under a few general headings. In this district the history of each tribal tract has varied greatly, and corresponding variations are to be found in the prevailing tenures of each. It will therefore be well briefly to sketch the effect of the various rules to which the district has been subject upon proprietary rights.

The division of the district under the Duranis to the dissolution of the Saddozai power.

Local information divides the district of Peshawar, during the ascendancy of the Duranis to the fall of the Saddozai clan, into three divisions:—

I. That immediately under the rulers. This consisted of (1) *tahsíl* Peshawar as it now is, and included *tappas* Mohmand; Khalil, the Qasbah and Khalsa; (2) Daudzai; (3) Doaba; and (4) Hashtnagar.

II. The country occupied by the Khattaks. This was little interfered with, and left to the management of the *kháns* of the tribe.

III. Yusafzai. This portion of the district was only nominally under the Duranis. It was really independent, and under a patriarchal system; each man cultivated his *bakhra* (share), or any portion of it, at pleasure, and paid no tribute, or share of the produce, to any one; his duty to the tribe required that he should join in all offensive or defensive operations undertaken in accordance with the resolutions arrived at by the *jirgah* (council of elders).

Growth of *ináms*.

It has already been stated, in the chapter on the history of the district, that the first three main tribes to settle were those descended from Kakhai, *viz.*, the Yusafzai, Muhammadzais, and Gigianis. They begged land from the Dilazáks, but eventually possessed themselves of the divisions known as Yusafzai, Hashtnagar and Doába, which they occupy at the present time. The Ghoraikhel Afgháns, comprising the Mohmands, Khalil, and Daudzais came some years later and took the *tappas** in which they are now located from the Dilazáks. The position occupied by them was in the plain; they were in consequence exposed to attack by the local governors, and became more under control than their fellow-clansmen of the other three tribes, who lived at a greater distance. The claims of Government in these three *tappas* created the *ináms bawajeh-*

* Mohmand, Khalil, Daudzai.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

daftaríat. They were on a fixed scale, and enjoyed generally by the proprietary body. It is the exception to find *ináms* with the Kakhai division; in some few cases they are found to be enjoyed by members of some of their leading families. In *tappa* Khalsa, the outlying hamlets of the Mohmands and Khalils, occupied chiefly by tenants, there was no fixed share of *inám*,—in some villages *ináms* were enjoyed, but they are of modern date, and were granted by the farmers.

Growth of *ináms.*

Farms under the Duranis.

Under the Duranis, the villages in the first division of the district, that portion directly subject to the ruler of the day, excluding Hashtnagar, were farmed for what they would fetch, to *arbábs, kháns,* leading men and retainers of the court. The farmers took a half share from the *abi* lands, one-fourth and one-sixth from the *barani* lands; they paid the Government demand, were responsible for any losses, and enjoyed the profits. Full authority was exercised by them as regards the cultivation of the land, and the distribution of water, &c. In Hashtnagar the *kháns* of *tappas* held the farms, and the Government demand was distributed on *tappas.* This fell very much lighter on the proprietors than elsewhere; the general rule being to lease out farms for the highest they would fetch.

Rates of *inám* in the different *tappas.*

The rates of *inám* varied. In sub-division Barozai, of *tappa* Khalil, it was 1-4th, owing partly to the character of the people and the position of their villages near the hills, which made farmers shy of taking up the leases. In other parts of Khalil more under control, the rate of *inám* was 1-8th; in *tappa* Mohmand it was 1-16th, perhaps because the proprietors were so numerous that to have granted more would have reduced the revenue too much. In Daudzai it was 1-8th. Besides the above rates, the Bari, composed of lands in the proximity of the village site, detached plots amongst the houses or in the beds of *nallas,* were also excused payment of a share to the farmers. They were a part of the shares on which the revenue was paid when cash assessments were made, and were erroneously looked upon as *máfis* at the Summary Settlement. In some influential families there were besides *ináms* granted by farmers, who found it to their interest to increase the *inám* of leading men in order to obtain their help in the recovery of the revenue. From the remaining land, farmers took a half share from both proprietors and tenants; the share was taken in some cases by a division or appraisement of the probable out-turn of grain, locally known as *tip.* Proprietors took service, and received fees at *marriages* from the non-proprietors; the fees are locally known as *haq tora;** these were distributed among the village servants according to fixed rates, and did not increase the income of the proprietors.

Fees known as *haq tora.*

Marked difference between proprietors (*daftaris*), and tenants (*hamsáyas*).

There always has existed a wide gulf between the Afghán proprietor and his tenants; the former were, and are known, as *daftaris,* the latter as *faqírs* or *hamsáyas* (under the same shade.) The *bandas* or outlying hamlets were usually occupied by *hamsáyas* and, sometimes by some of the proprietary class. In some cases the occupying *hamsáyas* held the hamlet on a feudal tenure, and were,

* *Tura* =a sword.
Tora =a copper coin equal to half an anna.
Tora is a nobleman or chief in Turki. Perhaps this may be the derivation of the word.

in consideration of its free enjoyment, bound to join the tribe from whom they received the land, in its offensive and defensive operations. This tenure is known as the *malatar* (girding up loins) tenure. In most cases the hamlet tenants, owing to their residence at a distance from the original settlement, were exempt from many of the minor services exacted from the tenants in the parent villages. These privileges have been recognized, as far as possible, in the declaration of their *status* and decision of their cases. It is very common to find men of the holy class located in a hamlet on the borders of the land of two tribes; they were the best buffers obtainable at that time.

Marked difference between proprietors (*daftaris*) and tenants (*hamsáyas*.)

In the second division, or Khattak portion of the district, the *kháns* were all-powerful, and exercised proprietary rights over the waste lands (hill and uncultivated). From all occupants in possession, whether members of the tribe or not, it was usual to take a share of the produce or cash rents. Well lands always paid cash; the usual rate recovered from *baráni* lands was 1-4th. The *maliks* enjoyed either cash *inám*s or shares of land locally known as *qulbas*,—sometimes they enjoyed pieces of irrigated land. In the hilly part of this division, the demand was distributed on houses and cattle; this is the present mode of distribution. The revenue is looked upon as a fine (*tawan*); the land is poor, and not considered worth the cultivation; it is useful only for grazing.

In the Khattak portion or second division the *khans* took rent.

Maliks enjoy *inám*s.

During 1818-19 the district fell to the Barakzai *sardárs*. Hashtnagar was allotted to Sardár Sayad Muhammad Khán. He commenced to recover half produce from *abi*; ¼ and 1-6th from the *baráni* under cultivation. During their power, owing to the numerous interests, all anxious to squeeze as much as they could out of the land, the proprietary system was much shaken. Proprietors looked simply to keeping their *inám*s. They took no interest in the management of their estates or cultivators, and were only too glad to be relieved of all responsibility. Very few of the leading men held their villages in farm. The Khattak and Yusafzai portions of the district remained as heretofore. When the district became a portion of the Sikh dominions in 1823, after the battle of Nowshera, the Barakzai *sardárs* became tributaries of Ranjit Singh. During the Sikh rule, Hashtnagar was continued in *jágír* to Sardár Sultan Muhammad, and Doába to Sardár Pir Muhammad. The Khattak country was annexed, and only *jágírs* granted to the *kháns*. The remainder of the district, excluding Yusafzai, was farmed to Hindu capitalists and leading men; they took half produce as heretofore and paid the Government demand. Yusafzai paid a *nazrána*, collected with difficulty and seldom without force. The *inám*s were not interfered with, but the hamlets of Khalíl, Muhammad, and Daudzai were separated from their parent settlements, and the proprietors lost such rights as they had enjoyed in them. *Jágírdárs* took upon themselves the same powers as were exercised by the Government. The proprietary system of Doába and Hashtnagar received injuries from which they never recovered.

The Barakzai rule.

The district under the Sikhs from 1823 to 1846.

Table No. XVI shows the number of tenancy holdings and the gross area held under each of the main forms of tenancy as they stood in 1878-79, while Table No. XXI gives the current rent-rates

Statistics of tenants and rent.

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

of various kinds of land as returned in 1881-82. But the accuracy of both sets of figures is probably doubtful; indeed, it is impossible to state general rent-rates which shall even approximately represent the letting value of land throughout a whole district. The table on the next page shows the classification of tenants and the prevailing rent-rates as ascertained at the Regular Settlement.

Tenant rights at Major James' Settlement.

At Major James' Settlement the inquiries regarding the *status* of tenants were directed towards ascertaining if possession was of 12 years' duration; this was generally considered sufficient to confer hereditary rights, and also the right to pay in cash at the same rates as the proprietors: no rent above the Government revenue was fixed as payable by this class of tenant. The tenants whose possession was of less than 12 years were considered non-hereditary, and as a rule, liable to pay a rent of half produce (*nimkara*).

Tenancy rights at the Regular Settlement.

At the Regular Settlement the tenures were most carefully investigated, and it was found that there were many tenants who had been ever since annexation to all intents and purposes proprietors. In cases where the tenant was found to have been located by the ruler, or where they undoubtedly showed they had upheld the village, and the proprietors were very weak, they were declared tenants with occupancy rights. In other cases if the parties agreed among themselves, the terms of their agreement were recorded; if, however, any dispute arose, the *onus* was usually thrown on the tenant, who was directed to sue. Many tenants were afraid to fight for their rights, the proprietary body being so strong; but in hamlets occupied mainly by tenants, and in villages where the proprietary body was weak, suits were filed by tenants.

Rent rates.

Rents have been fixed for all proprietors; tenants paying cash rents have had them settled at percentage rates on the revenue—this was the only possible way, as there are no such things as cash rents per acre or *jaríb*. Proprietors always wished for produce rents, but this was not possible according to section 16 of the Act, which was strictly observed.

Class of tenants.

The local designations of tenants are given in the tenancy *misl*. The ordinary names are *nimkaragar* and *naqdi deh*, or "giver of half produce" and "giver of cash." In some parts of the district there are classes of tenants known as *mulki* and *khulki*. The former have rights; they usually have resided for some generations in the village, and the proprietor does not care about turning them out. The *khulki* tenant is a pure tenant-at-will—everything depends on his getting on well with the proprietors.

In the Qasbah, the tenants were usually found to be the planters of the fruit trees; they also repaired the garden walls, provided the outlay required was not excessive. Proprietors were found to take ½ and ¾ share of the produce, and it was allowed that tenants of this class were entitled to compensation on eviction. They were declared tenants with occupancy rights, and, where not, they were always decreed compensation. In some villages of *tahsíl* Peshawar, where there were vineyards planted by the tenants, it was agreed that if the tenant is dispossessed while the garden exists, the proprietor is bound to give him compensation on account of his share of expense incurred on the trees. In some cases the occupants

Classified Statement of Tenants' holdings, Peshawar District.

Name of Tahsil.		Tenants with right of occupancy.		Tenants not having right of occupancy.		Total of tenants paying in cash.	Total of tenants paying in kind.	Percentage of total cultivated area held by tenants.	MODE OF PAYMENT OF RENT FOUND TO EXIST.													
									In Cash.			In Kind.										
									At Revenue Rates only.	At Revenue Rates plus malikana.	At a consolidated Revenue (Chakaratah).	Rate of Kamins' Fees per 1 maund.	Share of grain taken by proprietors after deduction of Kamins' fees								Enjoying muafis granted by proprietors.
		Cash rents.	Rents in kind.	Cash rents.	Rents in kind.								3/4th	2/3rd	½	2/5th	⅓	¼	1/5th	1/6th	1/7th	1/10th	Other rates.	
Peshawar.	No. of holdings	507	563	1,011	6,229	1,518	6,791	...	955	496	67	5 to 7½ Mds.	441	588	5,179	...	...	...	152	21	...	...	407	..
	Area ...	8,259	11,366	2,745	34,306	6,004	48,162	43	1,588	3,279	1,137		7,458	12,040	23,767	...	...	...	1,519	157	...	...	1,201	..
Nowshera	No. of holdings	534	206	614	2,105	1,138	2,310	...	645	479	14	3 to 10 Mds.	...	...	795	543	817	7	6	39	...	98	...	5
	Area ...	6,676	3,305	4,064	14,296	10,740	17,601	31	5,618	5,075	47		...	..	5,632	2,897	7,452	53	21	179	...	1,556	...	19
Doaba Daudzai.	No. of holdings	1,854	516	1,075	5,776	2,489	6,291	...	1,401	962	66	5 to 7½ Mds.	...	...	6,897	60	15	170	40	9	7	...	93	...
	Area ...	7,988	3,402	2,378	29,348	10,266	32,750	71	2,654	7,266	346		...	...	30,411	429	34	1,181	347	80	55	...	213	...
Hashtnagar	No. of holdings	330	53	271	5,039	601	5,092	.	426	170	5	10 to 20 Mds.	...	...	2,534	3	46	378	154	1,334	165	282	2	194
	Area ..	1,615	285	765	50,843	2,280	57,128	51	1,582	694	4		...	...	9,718	10	111	5,939	4,731	28,681	6,276	3,392	23	1,349
Mardán.	No of holdings	910	40	2,395	2,463	3,305	2,603	.	1,281	1,511	513	5 to 7½ Mds.	...	...	123	...	336	1,109	190	182	39	467	57	...
	Area ...	24,253	1,103	46,098	36,394	70,351	37,497	49	26,103	34,181	10,067		...	...	1,352	..	2,387	13,753	4,774	6,756	268	7,461	546	...
Utman Bolak.	No. of holdings	1,192	748	3,122	4,470	4,314	5,218	...	1,900	2,239	175	2 to 7 Mds.	38	46	303	...	2,331	1,033	133	167	75	40	64	1,098
	Area ..	12,732	2,130	16,184	20,338	29,536	22,466	32	13,957	14,326	1,353		565	259	985	...	5,789	7,491	1,116	2,036	470	259	793	3,105
Total ..	No. of holdings	4,817	2,133	8,485	26,082	13,305	28,205	...	6,608	6,857	840	2 to 20 Mds.	472	634	14,831	606	3,445	2,697	675	1,75.	286	887	623	1,297
	Area ...	56,413	22,081	72,764	1,91,525	29,177	2,13,606	29	51,803	64,721	12,954		8,003	12,299	71,845	3,136	15,973	28,017	12,508	35,789	6,069	12,670	2,725	4,472

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Classes of tenants.

who were undoubtedly tenants under former rulers, were owing to the loss of possession by the original proprietors, declared proprietors. In Daudzai the occupants of the Khalíl hamlets, who were tenants originally, were at the Regular Settlement declared proprietors, in consequence of long adverse possession. In Doába many of the tenants at the Summary Settlement took up the engagements with the proprietors, and were known as *khewati;* they paid no rent, and in some cases actually enjoyed a share of the *shamilát.* Many of them were located by the *sardár* to whom the *tappa* was in *jágír;* he was to all intents and purposes also the ruler; in such cases they have now been declared *tenants with occupancy rights.* In *tappa* Khalsa many tenants were found to have sold and mortgaged their rights for large sums, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the proprietors; they also have now been declared tenants with occupancy rights. In the cluster of villages known as the *bandehjat, tahsíl* Nowshera, the occupants, originally tenants of the Mohmands and Khalíls, have, in consequence of long adverse possession, been declared proprietors. In *tappas* Bolak and Tare, now part of the new Utman Bolak *tahsíl,* the occupants who broke up the waste have been declared proprietors, and the tenants considered as possessing occupancy rights. In the hamlets and Mian Isa, founded in the Sikh time, the tenants found to be representatives of the founders have been declared tenants with occupancy rights, but proprietors of the wells and enclosures built by them. In Hashtnagar the occupants of the *sholgíra* hamlets have been declared either proprietors, owing to long adverse possession, or tenants with occupancy rights. In the *maira* hamlets the tenants are nearly all considered as tenants without occupancy rights.

Names of tenants.

The Deputy Commissioner thus explains in his Census Report for 1881 some of the more common terms used in the district to denote various classes of tenants:—

Ijaradárs are those who take the contract of crops from owners or tenants, and have nothing to do with the cultivation. *Cherakárs* are those to whom the owner advances money, furnishing all the implements, &c., himself; *cherakárs* furnish labour only. The custom is that the owner takes all the straw and *bhusa;* the *cherakár* receives a fixed share of the grain only, which is fixed according to the quality of the land and the amount of the money advance, not being less than 1-16th, nor as a rule more than 1-4th. The *cherakár* who furnishes one bullock for the plough, the other being the *malik's,* is called a *cherakár adhjogia,* but they are not numerous in this district. The *dehkan* is the same as the *cherakár;* the former name is more frequently used in the Yusafzai *iláka. Fakir* does not mean a mendicant, it is a man who lives on a site, the property of the Pathán whose land he cultivates: the term *Fakir* is used in this sense chiefly in the Mardán and Utman Bolak *tahsíls;* in other parts of the district the term *hamsáya* is thus used.

Village menials.

The following are the principal village menials:—

The *kalál,* or potter, makes earthen vessels for sale, and supplies all such articles as plates, cups, oil-burners, *chillams* and pitchers, which are required in the guest-house or mosque. He lends out all earthen-ware vessels needed on such occasions as deaths or marriages.

The *lohár*, or ironsmith, repairs all iron implements of agriculture; he also makes new ones for sale. He does all the jobs in iron which are required of him by the villagers: and generally enjoys rent-free tenure of a small piece of land. The *nadáf*, or cotton-cleaner, cleans and dresses the cotton. He prepares cotton-padded coverlets and clothes and is paid by the job. The *musalli*, or sweeper, also called *shahikhel*, sweeps out the *hujra* or guest-house and keeps the fire alive on the *chillam*; he makes the *chhaj*, or sieve with which they winnow and clean grain for the *zamindárs*; for this last, he receives an allowance of one seer in the maund of grain winnowed. He discharges various functions at deaths or marriages, for which he is paid according to the discretion of his employer. The *nai*, or barber, besides performing the ordinary offices incidental to his profession, extracts teeth, bleeds those who require bleeding, and performs the act of circumcision on the boys, is frequently employed to carry confidential messages, and receives payment in grain for his services at harvest time as well as special fees for assisting at deaths and marriages, which he never fails to attend. The *tarkhán*, or carpenter, makes wooden implements of agriculture for sale as well as beds and stools. He repairs all such articles on occasion arising. He is called in for any skilled work that may be required in the building of houses or mills. Assisted by the *lohár*, he digs graves and buries the dead. Like the ironsmith, he holds a piece of land rent-free, although by no means wholly dependent on this. The *dúm*, or musician or ballad-singer, plays, sings, and dances on occasions of festivity; beats the drum when required to summon the village folk together; carries confidential messages and assists at births, deaths, and marriages. He is paid for each job by his employer, and also receives contributions from the *zamindárs*. The *imám*, or priest calls the people to prayers and reads the service five times in the day, is responsible for the mosque, and sees that it is kept in repair. He instructs the village children in the Korán. He prepares corpses for burial and performs the funeral service. The sick ask for his prayers and his charms. He reads the marriage contract, for which service he receives a fee varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. He enjoys the produce of the rent-free land attached to the *masjid* and receives occasional presents. The *dharwai*, or weighman, weighs and divides the produce of the land cultivated in common; furnishes seed, grain, and advances money on demand; lends money without interest at deaths and marriages, recovering his advances at harvest. When grain is being sold, the *dharwai* attends and receives for his trouble of weighing the corn one seer in the maund. The shopkeeper plies the trade of grocer, selling his wares at the price current of the neighbourhood. He gives oil and tobacco free to the *lambardár's* guest-house. The *kotwál*, or policeman, keeps watch and ward in the village, reports offences at the *thána*, collects the village people when their presence is required, and is used by the village headmen to make known any orders passed by the civil authorities. The *muháfiz fasl*, called in Pashto *kekha*, protects and watches the crops of the village and keeps regular rounds like the *chaukidár*, when the grain is threshed out a share is given to him, either so

Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures.

much per plough or so much per *bakhra* or share in the village. The *kama* and *pali* receive pay monthly or every six months; their duties are to feed cattle. The *mazdur* cleans the field of weeds, cuts the crop, and performs other duties connected with cultivation.

Agricultural labourers.

The subject of the employment of field labour other than that of the proprietors or tenants themselves, and the system of agricultural partnerships, are thus noticed in answers furnished by the District Officer and inserted in the Famine Report of 1879 (pages 721-2).

"In this district hired field labourers of three descriptions are employed—

(*a*.) Those who receive monthly wages which amount to Rs. 4 or 5 in cash without food, or Re. 1-8 or Rs. 2 in cash along with food. They are employed in every description of agricultural work.

(*b*) Those locally knewn by the name of *charakar*, who are indebted to their masters for sums ranging from Rs. 30 to 150, and are under engagement to give their services as agricultural labourers till such time as the debt is paid off. Plough bullocks, seed, &c, are furnished by the employer. These labourers are paid by a share of the crop in kind, which is usually from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$. They feed themselves

(*c*.) The labourers who are especially employed as cattle herds or crop watchmen The former are paid at harvest by receiving 15 seers of grain (barley or *jawár*) for every head of cattle grazed, or sometimes the payment is calculated not on the cattle but on the owners or their houses. The latter are also paid in kind at harvest; they receive one seer per maund of grain out of every crop.

"There is no tribe specially devoted to these occupations. When not engaged in agricultural work, they are ready to do any sort of miscellaneous labour. Their numbers are about 2,854, which is a percentage of 0·55 per cent. of the total population. There is no material difference in the condition of such labourers and that of the poorer agriculturists who cultivate holdings of their own. The *charakars* are generally in debt; they borrow money under promise of paying it back at harvest, but with that exception the labourers are well able to live upon their earnings. Those who watch crops are as a rule very well off."

The wages of labour prevailing at different periods are shown in Table No. XXVII, though the figures refer to the labour market of towns rather than to that of villages.

Petty village grantees.

The last two lines of Table No. XVI show the number of persons holding service grants from the village, and the area so held. But the figures refer only to land held free of revenue, which is by no means the only form which these grants assume. Sometimes the land is leased to the grantee at a favourable rent, or on condition of payment of revenue only; sometimes the owner cultivates and pays the revenue, making over the produce to the grantee; while occasionally the grant consists of the rights of property in the land, which, subject to the usual incidents, such as responsibility for revenue and the like, vest in the person performing certain specified services at such time and for so long as he performs them. These grants are most commonly made to village menials and watchmen on condition of or in payment for services rendered, to attendants at temples, mosques, shrines, or village rest-houses so long as they perform the duties of the post, and for maintenance of monasteries, holy men, teachers at religious schools and the like. The assignments of revenue or favourable rates of assessment allowed to these last by the British government will be discussed in Chapter V.

Table No. XXXII gives statistics of sales and mortgages of land; Tables Nos. XXXIII and XXXIIIA show the operations of the Registration Department; and Table No. XXXIX the extent of civil litigation. But the statistics of transfers of land are exceedingly imperfect; the prices quoted are very generally fictitious; and any figures which we possess afford but little real indication of the economical position of the landholders of the district. Captain Hastings has the following remarks on the subject:—

Poverty or wealth of the proprietors.

"The people, as a rule, although better off than under former rulers, are not extricating themselves from debt; if report is true, debts are and have increased chiefly owing to that bad custom which induces them to vie with one another in expenditure at marriages and deaths. More money is now spent on jewels, food and clothes than used to be. Gambling too, which is becoming very common, has much to say to the indebtedness of certain classes. Cash loans are obtainable between the rates of 1 and 3 per cent. interest per month; as much as 25 and 50 per cent. are charged for loans repayable at the next harvest. For seed loans, from ½ *ser* to 1 *ser* per maund is paid as interest. Money is obtainable on a deposit of jewels at Rs. 1-9 per cent. per month. It is not unusual to find land mortgaged to two persons, the proprietary right to one and the cultivating right to another. Till this settlement, the ordinary custom in the district was for proprietors to mortgage their lands, give over possession to the mortgagees, but still continue responsible for the government demand. For the future such agreements as these are not attended to; the revenue is primarily recovered from the person in possession. The debts are chiefly due to the local shopkeepers."

Part 2.—Rights in water.

Rights in water.

The depth of water from the surface being, except in the low-lands which fringe the rivers, so great that it is impossible to work wells for purposes of cultivation, the rights in water assume almost as great importance in Peshâwar as do the rights in land. Indeed it is often said that the two are identical, the available water supply having been originally distributed together with the land. This may have been the case in the first instance; but it cannot now be said with truth.

Irrigation customs. The Bara.

The system by which the water of the Bára river is distributed is as follows: The water is turned off from the river's bed into the *walas* (irrigation channels) by means of dams. The first two dams are erected above the Khalil and Mohmand place of distribution; they turn water into the under-ground channels of the villages of Shekan (*tappa* Mohmand) and Sangu (*tappa* Khalil). The remaining water is considered as half belonging to Mohmand and half to Khalíl; from each share sufficient water to turn a mill *(ek jandar páni)* is set apart for the cantonment, and carried with the Khalíl supply. The upper villages are called *sar-i-warkh*, and the lower villages, *páin-warkh*. *Warkh* is a Pashto word and means the hole in the side of a water-course; *sar* = head or upper, and *páin*,= low.

To some *páin-warkh* (low) villages, which are at a disadvantage as regards receipt of water, an extra share is sometimes allotted.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

The water distribution system.

Name of *Tuppa*.	No of villages	*Abi* area.	*Abi* revenue.
Mohmand	29	19,848	Rs. 1,03,899
Khalil including Qasba Baggram and Khalsa villages ..	50	19,650	Rs 95,896
Total ...	79	39,498	Rs 1,99,795

The statement in the margin shows the number of villages, their irrigated area and revenue according to *tappas*.

The water distribution system, although called Shaikh Malli's, is not so; it probably existed prior to his allotment of the land; he doubtless made some alterations and modifications, but the greater part of the system must have been in force before the Afghans took the country. The system of division and distribution of the water in a *kandi* of a village, in the first instance, was as follows: The *bakhrás* (shares) of the *kandi* were first grouped by fours; for the irrigation of every four *bakhrás* (shares) a period of time (*waqat*) was fixed. The periods of times (*waqats*) were either from sunrise to sunset, or from sunset to sunrise. Two periods of time (*waqat*) for eight *bakhras* (shares) are called *shabánaroz* (*shab*= night, *roz*=day). The terms *waqat* and *shabánaroz* are now applied indifferently both to the *water supply* and *the land* watered. In some villages four *bakhras* (shares) of land receiving water for only four *pahars* (watches of three hours each) are called *shabánarozes*, and eight *bakhras* a *dogún*. Two or three *dogúns* compose a *kandí* (section). Lots (*púcha* or *kurra andázi*) settled the order of turns (*naubats*) in which the *shabánarozes* (eight *pahars* of water supply) were to be taken, and within *shabánarozes* (eight *pahars* of time) the choice for the first turn of night or day *waqat* (four *pahars* of time). The day *waqat* (four *pahars*) is preferred to the night one. One watering being completed, no more casting of lots for *waqats* is required; at the second watering the *waqats* are reversed, and so on alternately throughout the season. This continues until the order of rotation has been so interfered with, for instance by floods causing an excess supply, or by drought causing a short supply, that it is necessary, in the opinion of the majority, to have a fresh casting of lots to start a new rotation. The allotment of turns is managed by the people among themselves; we have never interfered, and no disputes about it are ever brought into court. The water is, as a rule, applied by the proprietor to the land of the four *bakhras* in a *waqat* (four *bakhras* of land), or the eight *bakhras* (shares) for which it is allotted. The lands composing the *waqat* or *shabánaroz* adjoin and are in the same *vesh* (strips of area known by particular names based upon the description and quality of the soil); it is also customary to sow these divisions of land with the same crop, in order that the requirements of all the proprietors may be alike. When the *shabánaroz* or *waqat* is owned by several proprietors not holding jointly, or where the plot has broken up into several tenancies or fields, the order of irrigation is first the *sar-i-warkh* (upper) field, and so on in regular succession down to the *pain-warkh* (lower) field; if the supply of water should not be sufficient, and any occupant's land remain unirrigated, he is entitled to take it first at the next turn of water for this four or eight *bakhras*. The water in this case, it will be observed, is allotted for certain land, and it must be

used for the irrigation of that land only. The proprietor has not the option of using it out of the regular order, or for land elsewhere belonging to him in any other *shabánaroz*.

The distribution system in villages at the tail of the irrigation (*páin-warkh*).

In villages at the tail of the irrigation (*pain-warkh*), where the areas of the *bakhrás* (shares) are larger and the water-supply for the land short, the distribution is as follows. The proprietors roughly calculate how much of the whole *shabánaroz*, or *waqat*, can be irrigated by the water at their disposal, *i.e.*, ½ or ⅔ or ¾ of the land; each owner then irrigates that proportion of his land; the order of irrigation ordinarily commences with the owner of the *sar-i-warkh* field, and so on in regular succession down to the owners of the *pain-warkh* field, at the tail. But in some cases the *pain-warkh* field proprietors can demand a casting of lots for turns if they choose. If, after every one has had his turn, there is still water to spare, a second allotment of the same nature as the first is made, and the water similarly distributed, but in this case the *pain-warkh* (lower) owner has the first use of it. In Tehkal-bala there is no re-allotment of turns permitted. The water is distributed according to a fixed order of rotation.

The custom known as Khinza.

In villages (Musazai, Baddabair) where the *kandi* (section) areas are *chakbat* (separate), and so situated as to produce inequalities in respect of facilities for irrigation, it is usual to make up the difference of position by an extra allowance of water known as *khinza* (literally, a boil). This extra allowance is looked upon as a boil, *i. e.*, annoyance and trouble. When the Bára river floods, the regular distribution of its water above described is for the time placed in abeyance, and every *tappa* erects temporary dams and turns off as much water as they can. But they are not justified in doing this when only freshets occur. What water escapes down the bed is utilized by lower villages who have regular flood cuts. In some of the *pain* (low) villages of Mohmand (Deh Bahadur, Achar) and in those Khalíl villages affected by flood water after rain in the hills, a similar custom obtains. A stone or piece of wood is let into the ground, and on the water rising above this flood mark, it is said to be *tala-oba* (plunder water), and may be taken for irrigation without regard to the ordinary system. In most villages there are *mutafariq* (miscellaneous) lands apart from the shares; they are in some cases entitled by right to water, but as a rule the allowance is a favour. There are a few entitled to a right known as *(wach oba)* dry water; this is of two kinds; it either represents the water-supply in a channel between the point of receipt and the *pain khet*, after it has been turned off for the next *shabánaroz*, which is often given away previous to the turning off of the water for another division. In some villages near the cantonment, the water distribution is according to hours, and even divisions of an hour.

The custom in the event of freshets and floods.

The custom known as *tala-oba* (plunder water.)

The water right of miscellaneous plots.

The custom known as *wach* (dry) *oba* (wet).

Near cantonments water division is regulated by hours.

The tenant's right to the water supply.

The water is a necessity; the land is worth nothing without it, consequently the proprietor cannot in any way interfere with the water-supply of a tenant's holding so long as the tenant holds that land. If, however, the water should be more than is required for the land, the power of giving or transferring the surplus lies with the proprietor and not the tenant.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures

Shaikh-ka-katha.

The other canal which irrigates the greater number of the remaining villages in the new Pesháwar *tahsíl* is called Shaikh-ka-katha (the Shekh's canal) after Shaikh Usman; he was ruler in Pesháwar in Aurangzeb's time, and has the credit of having originated and constructed it. The water supplying the canal is turned from the Kábul river by means of a dam in the boundaries of Sherkili and Dherikili villages to the west of *tappa* Daudzai. At the same place, by means of a separate channel, water is turned into the Mamu branch; this irrigates Chukrimatti and other villages in *tappa* Daudzai.

The distribution of the water of the main channel.

The water of the main canal is divided as follows: Between the first dam on the Kábul river and the Dag-band dam just below the village of Pir-bala, water for irrigation is taken by the Sari, Gidarai, Tirahi, Marina, Budakandarkhel, Kukar and Laram cuts of the Daudzai *tappa*. They are entitled to one-third of the water plus sufficient to irrigate the Budakandarkhel area. What remains in the canal after this, is distributed among the villages below the Dag-band as follows: The villages of Darbangi, Garhi Babu, plots Mahal Gabri, Salo Lala Ahmad in the *qasba*, and *maira* Haidarabád receive a restricted water supply through *warkhs* (holes in the side of the canal for water to pass through) or by small irrigation channels. The surplus that passes the distributaries goes mostly to the Khalsa *tappa*. The villages supplied by it are divided for the purposes of irrigation into 20½ shares (*kandis*).* These shares are of unequal area; but they govern the distribution of the water. A part of these 20½ *kandis*, *viz.*, the villages of Akbarpur, Rashida, Chughalpura, Paharipura and Kamboh, receive their water supply on the *shabánaroz* system, the remaining villages receive a continuous flow of water through masonry heads.

The subjoined statement gives the villages and their areas, according to *tahsíls*, irrigated by the Shaikh-ka-katha, properly so called, *i.e.*, the water after it passes the Dag-band.

Name of *tahsíl*.	Name of *tappas*.	No. of villages and plots.	Irrigated area	Revenue of the villages.
			Acres	Rs.
Pesháwar ..	Khalfl and Khalsa	42	9,623	32,726
Nowshera ..	Khalsa ..	7	2,212	9,486
Total ...		49	11,835	42,212

The water in the canal is not allowed to be dammed.

Except in one instance, it is not allowable to dam the water in the bed of the channel, in order to increase the supply that enters a branch. The only estate in favour of which the exception is made is that of Jhalarian in the Pesháwar *qasbah;* but for the privilege thus allowed to it this estate would not receive any water, the bed of the channel being lower than the mouth of its irrigation cut. There are 39 mills turned by this canal. The water, after turning them, is again utilized for irrigation; there are no mills turned the water of which is wasted.

Mills.

Water distribution in a village described.

The system by which the owners of a village distribute the water among themselves is as follows: For the irrigation of every

* The area of a *kandi* was originally about 500 acres; this does not hold good at the present time.

four *bakhras* (shares) a *shabánaroz* of water (day and night supply) is set apart. The order in which each section (*kandi*) of a village is to receive its share in the water is settled at customary seasons by casting lots. In cases in which the *shabánaroz* (or four *bakhras*) is owned by several proprietors not holding jointly, the order in which each shall receive his share is similarly settled by casting of lots; these interior shares being commonly called *waqats* (twelve hours) and *pahárs* (three hours). It is not obligatory that the water be used for the land (*bakhras*) on account of which it is allotted. If the proprietor has other land which he prefers to irrigate, he may use the water for that purpose. In this point the custom on the Shaikh-ka-katha differs from that prevailing on the Bára, where the water is useable for particular lands only.

Water distribution in a village described

The casting of lots to settle the order of rotation for the distribution of water takes place once a year, *viz.*, in the month of *Jeth* (May) for villages which cultivate *chari*, and in others in *Hár* (June) and *Sávan* (July). These periods are those at which the exact regulation of the irrigation becomes most important, the exact observance of the rotation having been ordinarily neglected during the months immediately preceding. The miscellaneous plots of lands, small *máfis*, have no fixed share of water; where the plot is part of a *bakhra* (share) or attaches to a *shabánaroz* or *kandi*, it receives its water during the time of irrigation for the *bakhra*, *shabánaroz*, or *kandi*, and its receipt has generally been considered a favour.

The re-allotment of turns.

The miscellaneous plots.

The Kábul river near the points of its debouchement into the Pesháwar valley forms two branches, the Adézai and Nagoman; the latter is the main stream, and again divides itself into two channels known as the Nagoman, or main stream, and the ShahAlam. The irrigation is carried on by channels, into which the water is turned by dams. No restriction is placed on the amount of water diverted by each dam. The statement in the margin shows the number of villages, area irrigated, and revenue of the land for each branch of the river.

Kábul river irrigation customs.

Name of stream.	No of villages	Irrigation area	Revenue.
Nagoman ..	67	18,624	66,052
Sháh Alam ..	14	3,614	13,136
Adézai ..	33	7,543	22,823
Total ...	114	29.771	1,02,011

The Budni stream, fed by springs, escape water from the Dag-band, and waste water, supplies water for the Sháhi Mahal and Zardad channels. The number of villages, their area and revenue is shown in the margin.

The Budni.

Name of channel.	No of villages	Area irrigated	Revenue.
		Acres	Rs
Sháhi Mahal ..	6	2,771	9,126
Zardad ...	5	1,292	5,300
Total ...	11	4,063	14,427

As a rule there is a sufficient supply of water; but in the event of short supply, the system of allotting the water by *shabánaroz* (night and day supplies) is followed, and the turns for order of receipt settled by the casting of lots, as already explained for the Shaikh-ka-katha.

Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

The Swát river irrigation customs.

It now remains briefly to describe the irrigation customs of the Swát river, which forms the boundary between *tahsíl* Hashtnagar and *tappa* Doába. The supply of water from the river is plentiful, and consequently the customs are not complicated. The statement in the margin shows the number of villages irrigated, their area in acres, and the revenue payable.

Name of *tahsíl*.	No. of villages	Area in acres.	Revenue
Hashtnagar ...	43	83,387	91,715
Doába ...	47	24,769	1,03,125
		1,08,156	1,94,840

The river forms two branches between Jurra and Katozai; the upper one is known as the Jagai and irrigates Hashtnagar, the lower or main stream as the Abazai till it arrives between Marozai in Doába and Sangar in Hashtnagar; at this point it again divides itself into two channels; the left one is known as the Shambor, the other as the Khyali; the former irrigates Hashtnagar, the latter Doába and some few villages also of Hashtnagar. The main channels irrigating the Doába *tappa* are the Icharai; this is turned off from the river's bed above the point where the river forms two branches; the Bundiala, Ishara and Kathiala (old), they are turned off from the Abazai or main stream; the last is the Kathiala (new); this is fed from the Khyali branch, and has for the last 17 or 18 years grown into a regular river; it flows between high steep banks in parts. The irrigation of Hashtnagar is from the Abazai and Tangi cuts; the water for them is turned off just above the Jagai branch. The Jagai irrigates 15 villages, the Shambor 14, and the Khyali 5 villages.

The custom of distributing the water.

There is always a continuous flow of water into these main channels, but there is no measure to the supply as regards one another; each channel diverts as much as it can; the supplies in the channels are measured by the scale in force for the particular channel and distributed into the separate village cuts entitled to receive water. There has hitherto been sufficient water for all, and it is taken as required. In the event of a short supply, as is sometimes the case in *Sáwan* (July), the water in some villages is distributed on the *shabánaroz* system, the turns for the receipt of which are settled by the casting of lots. There are some miscellaneous plots in Doába; they have separate channels and a fixed supply; the smaller miscellaneous plots receive their supply as elsewhere.

The staff employed to superintend the irrigation.

There are Government officials styled *mírábs* (lords of the water), and under them *chaprasis* for the Bára, Shaikh-ka-katha, and the Kábul river. They are responsible for a general superintendence in all matters connected with irrigation, and are under the *tahsíldar*. Their pay is met from a cess known as the *mirab* cess sanctioned by Government in letter No. 2128, dated 22nd December 1874. The total annual cost of the establishment is Rs. 6,402.

CHAPTER IV.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

SECTION A.—AGRICULTURE AND LIVE-STOCK.

General statistics of agriculture.

Table No. XIV gives general figures for cultivation and irrigation, and for Government waste land; while the rainfall is shown in Tables Nos. III and IIIA and B. Table No. XVII shows statistics of Government estates. Table No. XX gives the areas under the principal staples, and Table No. XXI the average yield of each. Statistics of live-stock will be found in Table No. XXII. Further statistics are given under their various headings in the subsequent paragraphs of this Chapter. Land tenures, tenants, and rent, and the employment of field labour have already been noticed in Chapter III. The table on the next page gives agriculture statistics as ascertained at the Regular Settlement.

Soils.

If the stony tracts lying immediately below the hills be excepted, there is a singular uniformity of soil throughout the district—on the surface, a light and porous earth, having a greater or less intermixture of sand; below a substratum of strong retentive clay. The only variations of soil are due to variation in the depth of the surface earth or in the proportion of sand mixed with it. The soil of Yusafzai has been described in a passage quoted from Dr. Bellew at page 12; and the same or a very similar description would apply equally to the level country south of the Kábul. With irrigation, the whole surface of the valley is capable, almost without exception, of producing the richest crops. Sandy and barren tracts occur in some few localities, but they are of small extent, and bear an insignificant proportion to the total area. The land is classified by the people according to the presence and absence of irrigation; it is called *bárání* or *qullmi* when dependent solely on rain, *ábi* when irrigated from canals, *sailábi* when liable to be flooded. The irrigated land is generally *mattah* or clay, and is further distinguished as *ek-fasli* (single crop) and *do-fasli* (double crop). The *maira* land is mixture of clay and sandy soils; it is usually high land, and wholly dependent on rain. *Bari* is the name given to the highly manured land near the village sites. The well land is known as *cháhi*. The areas are given in the following table.

Irrigation.

Table No. XIV and the table at page, 142 give details of irrigation. Further information will be found at pages 186 and 202 of Major Wace's Famine Report compiled in 1878. At that time 21 per cent. of the cultivation was irrigated from canals, 4 per cent. from wells, 3 per cent. was flooded, and the remaining 72 per cent. was

Chapter IV, A.
Agriculture and Live-stock.
General statistics of agriculture,

General Abstract of area and resources in the several Tahsíls of Pesháwar District.

Serial Number.	Name of Tahsíl	Total Area.	Waste.	Revenue Assigned.	Culturable.	Fallow.	Cultivated. With natural irrigation (*Silábi*).	Cultivated. *Chabi.*	Cultivated. *Abí.*	Cultivated. Unirrigated (*Baráni*).	Cultivated. Total Cultivated.	Cultivated. Total of cultivated and fallow.	Area in acres including *maafi* land. Manured.	Area in acres including *maafi* land. Irrigated.	Cattle. Number of head of plough cattle.	Cattle. Entire number of head of cattle.	Wells. In use.	Wells. Out of use
1	Pesháwar ...	2,38,916	56,524	6,150	82,392	9,980	2,851	1,011	53,439	26,569	83,870	93,850	5,865	57,183	16,801	54,110	233†	12
2	Nowshera ...	3,51,126	1,50,567*	4,599	1,04,845	3,368	8,473	8,836	3,254	67,184	87,747	91,115	...	12,090	15,504	60,032	1,181	120
3	Doába Daudzai	1,16,463	20,940	5,072	23,194	6,721	165	...	54,153	6,218	60,536	67,257	...	54,318	15,688	45,729	...	...
4	Hashtnagar ...	1,94,035	26,198	12,646	41,531	3,620	2,174	436	16,572	90,858	1 10,040	1,13,660	...	17,008	12,066	27,173	147	27
5	Yusafzai ...	4,04,372	91,846	48,976	32,849	5,870	4,658	4,820	162	2,15,191	2,24,831	2,30,701	3,976	4,982	20,462	40,224	1,206	52
6	Utmán Bolak ...	2,97,633	69,879	18,021	35,952	4,643	335	9,177	237	1,59,389	1,69,138	1,73,781	3,837	9,414	28,206	67,330	2,841	40
	Total ...	16,02,545	4,15,954	95,464	3,20,763	34,202	18,656	24,280	1,27,817	5,65,409	7,36,162	7,70,364	13,678	1,54,995	1,08,727	2,94,598	5,708	251

* Including 67,550 acres of hill sides.
† Besides 71 *dhinglis* and 29 *jhalárs*.

wholly dependent upon rain. The following figures show the number of wells then existing in the district, with certain statistics regarding them :—

Number of Wells	Depth to water in Feet.		Cost in Rupees		Bullocks per Wheel or Bucket.		Cost of Gear	Acres irrigated per Wheel or Bucket.	
	From	To	Masonry.	Without Masonry	Number of Pairs	Cost in Rupees		Spring.	Autumn.
1,554	.	20	200	30	2	80	50	2	2
4,396	20	30	250	55	2½	110	60		
96	30	40	400	95	3	145	75		

Of these wells 2,414 were unbricked; and all were worked by the Persian wheel. It would appear from the small area irrigated from wells that they are chiefly used to assist canal irrigation or flooding, and indeed the depth of water from the surface in all parts except the lowlands where river water is easily available, is so great that it is impossible to use wells for irrigation. The irrigation from canals has been fully described in Chapter III (pages 135 to 140).

Agricultural implements and appliances.

Table No. XXII shows the number of cattle, carts, and ploughs in each *tahsíl* of the district as returned in 1878-79. The agricultural implements, cattle, and tools required for the cultivation of a small holding, together with the cost of each, are thus given by Captain Hastings: A pair of bullocks, value Rs. 40, plough, Rs. 2; yoke, 8 an.; *sirbandai* (the rope or leather thong by which the shaft of the plough is fastened to the yoke), 6 an.; *chakka* (goad for driving), 3 an.; *mála* (the *sohága* of the Punjab proper (a heavy horizontal piece of wood dragged by oxen for smoothing the field), Re. 1; sickle, 4 an.; *rambai* (hoe), 4 an.; axe, Re. 1; *kudáli* (pick), 8 an.; *kahai* (a small mattock), Re. 1; *chari* (a wooden shovel), 10 an.; *yúm* (spade), Re. 1; *pinzahghakhai* (a large and heavy wooden rake), 6 an.; *ghakáwar* (a sort of harrow), 5 an; *rashpel* (shovel), 3 an; *chaj* (winnowing fan), 6 an. The total value of these items, including the bullocks, is in round numbers, Rs. 50.

Manure and rotation of crops.

The following description of the use of manure and the system of rotation of crops as practised in the district was furnished for the Famine Report of 1879 (page 266-7), where it was stated that 9 per cent. of the irrigated cultivation was constantly, and 15 per cent occasionally manured; while manure was rarely if ever given to unirrigated land; and that 38 per cent. of the irrigated and none of the unirrigated area was double cropped.

"On land constantly manured, the average weight of manure given to the acre per annum is about 400 maunds. Onl and occasionally manured, it is 320 maunds. If the crop is vegetable and garden produce, or sugarcane, manure is given at intervals of 15 or 20 days: if it is wheat, barley, cotton, or *jowár* it is generally given only once. On *dofasli* land of very good quality, the rule is to sow wheat after cotton; but if the land is somewhat inferior, it is allowed to be fallow for one season after cotton, and then *jowár* or rice is sown on it. If sugarcane has been sown, the land is left fallow one season, and after that is sown with Indian corn or rice. After rice or Indian corn no fallow is allowed, but barley or wheat is sown in alternate seasons. On *ekfasli* land wheat is sown one year, and barley the next. If cotton is raised on it one year *masur* is sown the next year; *kangni*, *bájra*

Chapter IV, A.—Agriculture and Live-stock.

sugarcane, and cotton, are considered to be crops very exhausting to the soil : after them the land is generally allowed to be fallow one season. If land is limited, *bakila*, *masur*, and *mung* are sown in the belief that they strengthen the soil, and are as good as a fallow. Irrigated land is ploughed twice during one season ; if the soil is hard, a third ploughing is given ; unirrigated land, if soft and sandy, gets two ploughings ; if hard, 4 ploughings are given. The rules about rotation of crops apply to irrigated (*dofasli*) and unirrigated (*ek fasli*) land equally."

Principal staples.

Crop.	1880-81.	1881-82.
Kangni ...	310	617
China ...	512	...
Mattar ...	105	32
Mash (Urd) ...	478	1,499
Múng ...	5,144	7,083
Masur ...	1,741	6,038
Arhar ...	261	541
Coriander ...	18	41
Chillies ...	87	283
Mustard ...	15,004	13,359
Til ...	8,137	1,627
Tára Míra ...	35	...
Hemp ..	110	4
Other crops ..	172	757

Table No. XX shows the areas under the principal agricultural staples. The remaining acres under crop in 1880-81 and 1881-82 were distributed in the manner shown in the margin.

The irrigated and unirrigated areas under the four principal staples as ascertained at the Regular Settlement are shown below at page 146. The following table shows the seed time and harvest of the principal staples with their vernacular names :—

Agricultural Produce and Seasons.

Description with vernacular or local name of Crop.	Seed time.	Harvest.
RABBI HARVEST—		
Wheat, *ghanam* ...	From Asoj (September) to Magh (November).	From 15th Jeth (May) to 15th Har (June).
Barley, *orbash* ..	Do.	Baisakh (April).
Mustard, *sarsuf, sharshum*	Do.	Do.
Italian millet, *kangni, ghokht.*	Phagan and Chet (February and March)	Jeth and Har (May and June).
Lentil, *nask* ...	Asoj and Kattak (September and October).	Baisakh (April).
Tára mira, jawia ...	Do.	Do.
Peas, *matar* ...	Sawan and Bhadon (July and August)	Phagan and Chet (February and March).
Bean, *bagla, bagri* ...	Katak (October).	Baisakh and Jeth (April and May).
Tobacco, *tamaku* ...	Baisakh and part of Jeth (April).	Har and Sawan (June and July).
Clover, *shaftal* ...	Asoj (September)	Poh to Jeth (January to June)
Poppy, *khashkhash* ...	Asoj and Katak (September and October).	Baisakh and Jeth (April and May).
Melons, cucumbers, onions and other vegetables.	Phagan and Chet (February and March).	Har and Sawan (June and July).
KHARIF HARVEST—		
Sugarcane, *ganas* ...	Chet (March).	Katak to Magh (October to January)
Cotton, *pamba* ...	Baisakh and Jeth (April and May	Bhadon to Katak (August to October).
Rice, *shol* ...	Chet, Baisakh and Jeth (March, April, May).	Do.
Vegetables ...	... ...	Asoj and Katak (September and October).
Indian corn, *jowar* (?) ..	Har and Sawan (June and July)	Do.
Moth ...	Baisakh and Jeth (April and May).	Do.
Mash, mai ...	Har and Sawan (June and July).	Do.
Arhar .	Baisakh (April)	Do.
Bajra ...	Jet and Har (May and June).	Asoj (September).
Charri, nari jowar ...	Do.	Asoj and Katak (September and October).
Bean, *lobia* ...	Do.	Do.
Hemp, *san* ...	Baisakh and Jeth (April and May).	Do.
Sesame, *kanjal* ...	Do	Do.

Of the crops here mentioned, the staples are wheat and barley at the *rabí*, or spring harvest, and rice, maize, millets and pulses at the autumn harvest (*kharíj*). Of millets the species most

largely grown appears from the yearly returns to be *jowár* (great millet), *bájra* and *kangni* (spiked and Italian millet) being also grown in small quantities. The best rice is that grown upon the river Bára, the best of all being the produce of a few villages close to the Bára Fort near the point where the stream issues into the plains. The sugarcane is of three kinds—a poor and thin cane, indigenous to the valley, and known as *mulki*, and two imported species *Kohát* and *Lahori*. The latter kinds are said to be gradually coming into more general use in the place of the poorer *mulki* cane. The cotton produced is of fair average quality. Agricultural knowledge is still in a very backward state, though Captain Hastings reports that "the land is probably deeper ploughed and "better weeded than it used to be. Crops which rest the land and "improve it, such as *masur*, &c., are sown after cotton, or before "exhausting crops, such as sugarcane, &c."

Principal staples.

Table No. XXI shows the estimated average yield in lbs. per acre of each of the principal staples as shown in the Administration Report of 1881-82. The average yields per acre assumed for purposes of assessment at the Regular Settlement are given in great detail in Captain Hastings' Report.

Average yield.

The average consumption of food per head has already been noticed at page 84. The total consumption of food-grains by the population of the district as estimated in 1878 for the purposes of the Famine Report is shown in maunds in the margin. The figures are based upon an estimated population of 523,152 souls. On the other hand the average consumption per head is believed to have been over-estimated. A rough estimate of the total production, exports, and imports of food-grains was also framed at the same time; and it was stated (page 152, Famine Report) that while two and three-quarter lakhs of maunds were imported, five lakhs were exported yearly; the exports being wheat, barley, and maize, the produce of lands in the district owned and cultivated by residents of Independent Territory who take their crops to their homes; while the imports are wheat from Kohát and Bajaur, rice from Swát, Bunér, and Tirah, and gram and other pulses from Ráwalpindi and Hazára. Captain Hastings thus discusses the subject in his Settlement Report:—

Production and consumption of food grains.

Grain.	Agriculturists.	Non-agriculturists.	Total.
Wheat	8,02,594	6,93,277	14,95,871
Inferior grains ...	14,34,940	12,18,487	26 53,427
Pulses	1,94,568	1,89,076	3,83,644
Total ...	24,32,102	21,00,840	45,32,942

"The Peshawar district is in a corner; the greater portion of its area is land dependent on rain, and consequently the state of the exports and imports varies much. In seasonable years when the *maira* yields good crops, wheat and barley are largely exported from Hashtnagar and Yusafzai, chiefly to independent territory. On the other hand, good or bad years, there always appears to be a steady importation of wheat from Kohát, and rice from Swát. They find a good market in the city and cantonments. In unseasonable years wheat and barley are imported from Chach and Hazára. In the subjoined statement I have attempted to show the gross produce of the food crops, but the fact that my figures give a surplus would seem to indicate my produce estimates as too high.

Chapter IV, A.

Agriculture and Live-stock.

Name of Crop.	Area under crops (in acres.)			Total produce, (in maunds).		
	Abi.	Báráni.	Total.	Abi.	Báráni.	Total.
Wheat ...	47,323	2,96,374	3,43,697	4 27,513	14,26,361	18,53,874
Barley ...	72,873	1,72,062	2,44,935	8,40,822	10,43,371	18,84,193
Rice—(*Shali*) ...	10,799	...	10,799	1,87,181	...	1,87,181
Makki ...	87,305	5,241	92,546	15,50,706	45,129	15,95,835
TOTAL ..	2,18,300	4,73,677	6,91,977	30,06,222	25,14,861	55,21,083

Taking the population of the district at 489,313, and the horned cattle, excluding the city and cantonments of Peshâwar where no enumeration was made, at 2,26,928, we have for the annual expenditure in maunds—

Seed	...	...	1,53,755
Food of population at ¾ seers daily	...	...	33,59,910
„ cattle „ „	...	...	15,49,859
Add, for cattle of city and cantonments	...		3,46,575
Total consumption	...	...	54,08,099
Total production	...	...	55,21,083
Annual surplus	...	...	1,12,984

Arboriculture and forests.

Table No. XVII shows the area of waste land which is under the management of the Forest Department. It consists of 558 acres broken up into various *rakhs* (see further Chapter V) and is all unreserved.

Live-stock.

Table No. XXII shows the live-stock of the district as returned for the Administration Report at various periods. The breed of plough cattle found in this district is similar to that of the Punjab proper. The plough cattle now used are said to be of a better class than in former years. Buffaloes are much used in the work of well irrigation. The following statement of the prices of live-stock of the different kinds is furnished by Captain Hastings:—

Prices of Live Stock.

Name of Animal.	What used for.	Price.			Remarks.
		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Bullock ...	Agriculture ...	35	25	— 20	
	Food ...	20	15	8	
Buffalo ...	Agriculture ...	25	20	15	
	Food. ...	20	15	8	
Horse ...	Burden. ...	80	60	40	Riding horses cost from Rs. 100 to Rs. 400
Mule ...	Do. ...	150	100	80	
Donkey ...	Do.	30	20	15	
Camel ...	Do.	80	60	50	
Goat ...	Food. ...	5	3	2	
Sheep ...	Do. ...	10	6	3	
Lamb ...	Do. ...	2	1-8	1	

Colonel McGregor says:—

"Horses are not extensively reared in the valley, the great supply being obtained from the westward, whence many *káfilas* come each cold season. Wheel-carriages are quite unknown among the inhabitants of the country parts of the valley; and all internal traffic in merchandize, grain, &c., is conducted by means of pack-bullocks many of which are of a fine strong breed, very much superior to the ordi-

nary kind generally used in ploughing, &c., here as elsewhere in India. Very large flocks of sheep and goats are reared, and the extensive thorny enclosures, formed (generally of dry *zizyphus* bushes) for their protection from the night attacks of wild animals, may be seen studded over even the driest parts of the plain at certain seasons."

Horse-breeding operations.

A Government stallion was formerly kept at Mardán, but the system did not turn out a success at the time, and the stallion was removed. Efforts are, however, being made to give the system another trial, and the Assistant Superintendent, Horse-breeding Operations, has promised to send three stallions to the district, a Norfolk trotter for Pesháwar and one Arab each for Nowshera and Mardán. The people seem to be anxious for the introduction of the system, and prefer on the whole horse-breeding to mule-breeding. The number of mares fit to be branded is considerable.

The following number have been lately branded :—

Pesháwar.	*Mardán.*	*Nowshera.*
26	50	24

but the system of branding is not popular, and the people will not take the trouble to get their mares branded.

Mule breeding.

Mule-breeding operations have been carried on under the Government system since October 1882, and, on the whole, successfully. There are at present three donkey stallions (one Arab and two of Punjabi breed) at Mardán, two in Utman Bolák (one Persian and one Punjabi), two at Hashtnagar (both Arabi), and one at Daudzai (Punjabi) At Pesháwar and Nowshera there are no donkey stallions. In Mardán alone are there any mares branded for mule-breeding. These are 58 in number. In the other *tahsíls* there is, however, a large number of small mares fitted for mule-breeding, and in Utman Bolák alone the number amounts to close on 200. The people are decidedly averse to having their mares branded for breeding purposes. The average number of colts foaled each year in the four *tahsíls* above named is as follows :—

Mardán.	*Utman Bolák.*	*Hashtnagar.*	*Doába Daudzai.*
65	100	20	15

These are the numbers supplied by the *tahsíldars*, but the average given for Utman Bolák appears somewhat too high. The number of mules taken out of the district by dealers is comparatively small.

Outsiders seldom bring their mares to be covered by the Government stallions ; this is only the case in the Hashtnagar and Doába Daudzai *tahsíls*, where a few of the hill nomad traders sometimes bring in their mares to be covered. These traders, however, cannot all be considered pure outsiders, as many of them reside half the year in our district. On the whole the present condition of mule-breeding in the district is satisfactory, and future prospects are encouraging, as the extent of mule-breeding operations under the Government system is increasing and the people are beginning to appreciate its advantages.

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Occupations of the people.

SECTION B.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Table No. XXIII shows the principal occupations followed by males of over 15 years of age as returned at the Census of 1881. But the figures are perhaps the least satisfactory of all the Census statistics for reasons explained in the Census Report; and they must be taken subject to limitations which are given in some detail in Part II, Chapter VIII of the same Report. The figures in Table No. XXIII refer only to the population of 15 years of age and over. The figures in the margin show the distribution of the whole population into agricultural and non-agricultural, calculated on the assumption that the number of women and children dependent upon each male of over, 15 years of age is the same whatever his occupation. These figures, however, include as agricultural only such part of the population as are agriculturists pure and simple; and exclude not only the considerable number who combine agricultural with other occupations, but also the much larger number who depend in great measure for their livelihood upon the yield of agricultural operations. The statement in the margin shows the results of a Census made by Captain Hastings at the Regular Settlement. The figures exclude not only the cantonments of Peshâwar but also the very considerable floating population; and deal only with permanent residents in the district.

Population.	Towns.	Villages.
Agricultural ...	15,138	272,935
Non-agricultural ...	113,635	190,966
Total ...	128,773	463,901

Name of Tahsîl.	Population.		
	Agriculturists.	Non-agriculturists.	Total
Peshâwar ...	40,658	85,238	1,25,896
Nowshera ...	50,564	29,007	79,571
Daudzai ..	23,802	10,479	34,281
Doâba ..	18,870	12,355	31,225
Hashtnagar ..	26,987	25,962	52 949
Yusafzai ...	1,00,463	50,199	1,50,662
Total ...	2,61,334	2,13,240	4,74,574

More detailed figures for the occupations of both males and females will be found at pages 152 to 160 of Table XIIA. and in Table XIIB. of the Census Report of 1881. The figures for female occupations, however, are exceedingly incomplete.

The Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in his Census Report for 1881 :—

"The percentage of agriculturists pure and simple in the villages for the whole district is larger than in the villages of the Khalsa Khattak *ilaka*. The reason for this is that the inhabitants of the villages on the hills reaching down to Attock are for the most part traders, and they are so because of the unfertility of their land as compared with the rest of the *tahsîl*; it is used by them as a grazing ground for their cattle and other beasts of burden. Another reason which operates in some degree is that the Railway has brought a number of coolies and servants with it, who are not originally inhabitants of the *tahsîl*. In the Peshâwar *tahsîl*, in the large villages near the city, men of occupations other than agriculture are to be found in large numbers from their proximity to the city, and there too the average of agriculturists is low as regards the remainder of the district. The proportion of agriculturists in the towns of the Hashtnagar *ilaka* is unusually high. The reason for this is that they are in reality only large

Occupations of the people.

villages whose population are chiefly of the agriculturist class, though they have been entered as towns from the fact of their population exceeding 5,000. In the Daudzai and Yusafzai *tahsils* owing to the presence of troops in the small towns, the proportion of occupations other than agriculture is high. It has been mentioned before that the enumeration of men combining another occupation with agriculture has not been correctly carried out. It is notorious that several of the leading officials, and a number of the native troops are also landowners in the district. In the same way men entered as merchants and traders are also owners and mortgagees of land. So again of the artisans who live in villages a large number are concerned with agriculture; several have obtained land revenue free in return for services rendered, and of this land they are either owners or cultivators; while a number cultivate the land of the *maliks*, receiving a share of the produce. The percentage of children under 15, both male and female, who have been entered as practising occupations of their own, is considerable. The children are for the most part the sons of of *zamindárs*, who assist in ploughing, tending cattle, &c. The women are those of the poorer *zamindárs*, the women of the weaver class, and prostitutes. Hindu women are almost entirely excluded from this class, as there are few Hindu landowners in the district, and in the ordinary occupations of Hindus money-lending, dealing in grain, &c., the women take no part. By the introduction of the Arms Act the manufacturers of arms and gunpowder have to some extent been deprived of their occupations. From the introduction of foreign cotton and cloth goods also, the trade of the weaver class has suffered, and that of the blacksmith for a similar reason. The number of wandering beggars is great; it is possible it has been increased by including the *talib-ul-ilm* in the mosque in villages, who during the time of their education are maintained by the people of the *kandi* or *mohalla* in which the mosque is situate. In this district, all the *maliks* themselves take part in the various operations of agriculture, except the more wealthy and influential. The women work in their husbands' field to some extent, and in a few instances, where induced by poverty, they work for hire. In the Khattak *ilaka*, the women cut and bring wood and grass from the jungle, both for domestic use and for sale; they also pick the cotton crop when ripe. There are also women entered as agriculturists, who do not work themselves but cultivate by their servants.

Principal industries and manufactures.

Table No. XXIV gives statistics of the manufactures of the district as they stood in 1881-82. Cutlery, scarfs (*lungi*), pottery, leather-work, snuff, and coarse cloth are the only manufactures carried on to any extent in the district. The *lungis* of Pesháwar are famous throughout the province. They are also woven of a coarser texture in many of the towns and villages of the district. The manufacture of cutlery and snuff is also mainly confined to Pesháwar. Coarse cloth is manufactured in every village. Mr. Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art, has kindly furnished the following note on some of the special industries of the district. They are all prosecuted in the city of Pesháwar itself:—

Leather-work.

"Pesháwar is more a place of trade than of manufacture. From Central Asia and Kábul, raw silk, silk fabrics, velvets, woollen carpets, Russian and Kábul leather, embroidered *chogas* and *postins*, furs, fruit, drugs and other products are received, and are for the most part passed southward.

"It is not always easy to discriminate between importations and local products. The gilded or dyed fancy leathers made at Pesháwar are not readily distinguishable from those sent from Kábul and other places. The

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Leather-work.

best *postins* are brought from Kábul and Kandahar, but there is a considerable production of similar articles in the town, which are usually sold at a cheaper rate. The elaborate belts—*kamr khisa*—worn throughout the Derajat division, with neatly made powder flasks, bullet cases, flint and steel pouches, all attached, as Mr. Baden Powell remarks, after the fashion of a lady's chatelaine, are the characteristic article of the Pesháwar *postin-doz*. The powder flask is shaped like a retort, with a curved neck, sometimes in the moulded *khopa* or leather paste in which *ghi* bottles are made, prettily finished and engraved, and more usually of embossed leather sewn in segments. This is perhaps the only example of leather embossing, excepting an occasional sword-sheath, now practised. The belt proper is in buff leather with elaborate buckles and brass fittings. Embroidery in silk is applied sometimes directly on the leather as in the *postin*, but the flaps of pouches are often fitted with a piece of cotton cloth covered with fine silk embroidery in various colours.

"Bullet belts, with rows of bamboo tubes neatly wrought with embroidery, like those worn by the Kurds, are also made. The frontier belt, indeed, may be followed westward with slight variations, through Central Asia as far as the Caucasus.

"The *postin-doz* also makes *yak-dâns*, bottle cases, pocket-books and the *cháq gun* or water bottle which is found in all camel-riding countries. His trade, it will be seen, is in fact, as in his own estimation, different from that of the *mochi*; and he never touches shoes. The work is carried on in houses in the alleys and side streets of the town, and there is a larger production than might be suspected from the aspect of the *hazars*, where it is represented by another person altogether, the dealer, a shop-keeper known as *khurda farosh*, whose interest it is to represent the *postins* he sells as of foreign manufacture. Trunks and portmanteaus seem to be the only objects of European use produced.

Pottery.

"The use of glazed earthenware for the native table may be considered peculiar to the Pesháwar district for, although English pottery is gradually finding its way into Muhammadan households in many parts of India, there is nowhere else a local manufacture of glazed ware for eating and drinking from. That this manufacture is of some antiquity is proved by the fact that pottery identical in character with that now made, with fragments of the fritt or *kânch* ready for glaze, were discovered in the recent excavations made in the neighbourhood of Pesháwar in the search for Buddhist sculptures This does not, of course, prove the manufacture to be coeval with the Gandhára sculptures, since there are unmistakeable signs of a much more recent Dúráni occupation of the sites explored. Unglazed terra-cotta was common in the Buddhist period, but there are no signs of enamel or glaze. These fragments, however, taken together with the numerous similar pieces picked up during the Kábul expedition at various points on the routes taken by our troops, indicate that a considerable manufacture of enamelled pottery of good quality formerly existed in the more recent Kábul kingdom The ware is a rough faience. The reddish, earthen body or 'paste' is covered with a white *engobe* or slip, over which is washed a soft glaze. The pieces of fritt from the Charsadda excavations show that a better glaze was formerly made than now. The *liaison* between the body and its coverings is frequently imperfect, and both glaze and *engobe* are liable to scale and peel off. The typical article is a rice-dish about a foot in diameter and two and a half inches deep, with a narrow rim. Rude patterns are outlined on the unburnt glaze in manganese and filled in with oxide of copper The result is green leaves outlined in brown on a dirty, greenish tone of white. When the glaze melts well and the colours run a little so that the brown takes a purplish tint, the effect is not disagreeable;

but the burning is so irregular that in much of the ware the glaze is barely fired up, and the whole surface is dry and harsh with crude black and green lines.

Pottery.

"English amateurs have directed the attention of the workmen to jugs, teapots, ewers and basins, &c., of European forms; and the Commissariat Department annually takes a considerable quantity of pottery, and indeed materially helps in keeping the trade alive, if it does not greatly contribute to its artistic improvement. But, since the native materials are not strong enough to bear the English treatment, these imitations are thick and unsatisfactory. The small strength of this local alluvial earth with its light burning, as compared with that of the Dorset and Cornish clay and stone submitted to a hard coal fire, forbids any approach, on the part of the Peshâwar artizan, to the models given to him as copies. It is scarcely fair then to repeat all that has been said of the clumsiness of native potters.

"Although gypsum is plentiful, no use is made of plaster-of-paris for moulds. It may be mentioned here that the numerous plaster figures and ornaments found in this neighbourhood and dating from about the first century of the Christian era, show that then, as now, the capability of plaster-of-Paris for moulding and casting was either unknown or neglected. Both ornaments and figures were carved from blocks of solid plaster or modelled up according to the method of the modern Punjab plasterer *raj-mistri* in dealing with *gachh*, and are never cast in moulds. A curious difficulty has been known to arise from the precautions observed in the sale of lead—a munition of war—in a frontier town like Peshâwar. The restrictions intended to make the metal less available for bullets for Afridi rifles render it also less accessible to the potter for his glaze. If the production were greatly increased, it would be worth while to oxidize the lead for the potters under official supervision.

"Besides glazed ware, earthen vessels decorated with impermanent water colour painting in *kalai* or tin, and in coarsely pencilled parti-coloured patterns are also made. A common article is a basin with a vitreous glaze on the inside, and gum-colour painting on the exterior. Specimens of Peshâwar pottery are now to be found in most collections, but it seems doubtful whether the trade will expand. It is certainly not by attempting to copy delicate modern English wares that any improvement can be brought about. The materials are only capable of the large and simple treatment of which Rhodian, Italian and some French faience offer so many examples. The present potters are incapable of good Oriental patterns, and their scheme of colour is limited. With the co-operation of a good pattern-draughtsman or *nakâsh*, who would paint the large and flowing arabesques for which the colours are suitable, and the addition of the easily acquired dark and light blue of Multan, the manufacture might be greatly advanced along its own natural lines.

Metal work.

"Arms take the first place in an enumeration of Peshâwar metal work. A collection of pistols, daggers, knives and swords was sent to the Punjab Exhibition of 1882. But, owing to the universal practice of rehilting and furbishing old weapons, it is not easy to say to what extent in the production of new wares the armourers' and sword cutlers' trades are now carried on. Like all the large towns between Delhi and Kâbul, Peshâwar had a trade in arms which the British occupation has not yet entirely closed. Mr. Baden Powell quotes from a Settlement Report by Colonel James the following: 'Sword-blades of a coarse quality 'are manufactured at Peshâwar, but those in greatest request, other than 'Persian and Damascus blades, are the Tirahi made in the Orakzai hills of 'Tirah at what is known as the Mirza Khani factory. The temper of these

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

'swords is highly appreciated, and some purchased, perhaps at a small price, 'are valued nearly as much as Irani blades.' Although there is more trade in arms than would be seemly in an interior town, it is doubtful whether Pesháwar was ever notable for the actual manufacture of good sword blades.

Metal work.

In the Sikh times Lahore furnished a considerable quantity of well finished swords, which were brought in the rough by traders from Kábul and Ispahan. When forged, hilted and damascened, some were carried back and sold at Pesháwar, some went south, and some returned to Persia. The Afghán knife or *peshqabz*, there is little doubt, is now made on the frontier and in Pesháwar itself. Excellent leather-covered metal-mounted scabbards and sheaths of Sembal wood are also made here. The best blades, now as formerly, are importations from Kábul and Persia.

Copper chasing.

"Copper ware tinned for Muhammadan domestic use is one of the specialities of Pesháwar, and some admirable specimens of engraven work, tinned and grounded in black, were sent to the Punjab Exhibition. Trays, dishes, *aftábas* or water ewers with *chilmchis*, and wipe bowls, are the usual objects, and the workmen, unlike those of Kashmir who work in the same style, do not seem to have attempted adaptations to European uses. The Persian character and feeling of the ornament is much more striking than in Kashmir work. The chasing is simpler and bolder and the forms are often identical with Persian originals, which in their turn were copied from Tartar vessels. The ware is cheap,—a handsomely chased *aftábn* and a *chilmchi* with an open-work moveable grid to receive the water poured over the hands, costing only Rs 25.

Silver ornaments

"No special excellence can be claimed for the workmanship of the gold and silver ornaments made in Pesháwar as in all large towns. There are, however, some characteristic patterns of massive necklets and bangles made in one curved roll, and perforated in open work ornament. The workmanship is rough, even for India, but there is an agreeable air of simplicity and solidity in the designs.

Textile fabrics, &c.

"There is no more picturesque head-dress than that worn on the frontier. It is in two parts—first, a tall conical cap(*kullah*) often ribbed like a melon, with embroidery and stiff with gold. Round this is wound in large, sweeping curves a long narrow scarf or *lungi* of blue, grey, or sometimes black cloth of fine texture, into the ends of which are woven lines and bars of silk and gold. The *lungi* is the staple article of a large class of weavers, and though it may possess but little apparent variety, it is clear there are many qualities, since the price ranges from Rs. 20 to Rs 100 each. The harmony of the grey and dark and light blue with the varying shades of the gold and silk stripes worked in the fabric, is as simple and obvious as that of the various tones of green in the striped ribbon grass of our gardens; and it is scarcely less complete and satisfactory. Kohát also makes good *lungis*, but the Pesháwar trade is the largest. In embroidered caps for Muhammadan undress, as well as the *kullah*, this town excels, and Pesháwar *topi* is the recognised name of one of the many shapes of embroidered caps, which are either worn under the turban or replace it in private.

Lac-painted cloth.

"A curiosity of local production is a kind of raised colour painting on cotton fabrics. A pattern, necessarily of a large and open kind, is first painted on the cloth in lac or some similar sticky substance. The forms seem to be afterwards loaded up with a brush full of resinous colour generally red, so that the pattern is in low relief. Sometimes powdered mica is sprinkled over the lac to give it a shimmer. These fabrics, though they might resist a shower, could scarcely be washed. They are unlike anything else made in the province. When new, they have a distinct odour of mutton

fat which may possibly be mixed with the thick colour. When the pattern is in tones of yellowish red on dark *nila* or indigo blue cloth, the effect is rich and good, but on lighter colours it is less satisfactory.

Embroidery.

"Colourless embroidery or *chikan-dor* is wrought here as delicately as in Kashmir, and, as in chased copper, there is considerable affinity between the work of Srinagar and Peshâwar. The *burka* or Muhammadan ladies' out-door mantle, garments of all sorts, and the *sozni* or quilt are the objects to which this work is applied. The effect is scarcely, perhaps, commensurate with the labour and delicacy of the work. Some of the patterns wrought on fine muslins are nothing short of exquisite in line and quantity, but a close examination is necessary for a just appreciation of their beauty There is no 'cutting out holes and sewing them up again" as in English, Bengal and Madras *chikan* work. Sometimes tiny pieces of muslin cut out in the shape of leaves are applied either on the surface or between two surfaces and outlined with fine stitching. It is only by holding the work against the light that these delicate patterns can be fairly made out. Excepting the *sozni* or quilt, none of this work is made for European use. In Peshâwar, as in Lucknow, much of this embroidery is done by women and children, whereas in Kashmir the industry is confined to men. The women also do *phulkâri* work here as elsewhere, but chiefly for domestic use.

Felts.

"*Namdahs* or felts are said to be a manufacture of Peshâwar, but it is difficult in this as in other cases without careful local enquiry to separate imported felts from those produced on the spot."

Course and nature of trade.

There are no statistics available for the general trade of the district. Table No. XXV gives particulars of the river traffic that passes through the district. The exports and imports of food-grains have already been noticed at page 145. The main streams of external traffic are from Kâbul and Bokhara. The most frequented route from the west is that which crosses the Tartarra Pass and issues into the plains at Michni, this pass being safer though more difficult than the Khaibar. From the east the Grand Trunk Road, and from the south the Kohat pass are the main channels of communication. The Kohât salt intended for Swât and Bajaur mostly passes through Peshâwar; but there is another line also taken further to the east which crosses the Khattak hills by the Mir Kâlan Pass, and proceeds northwards, *viâ* Jalozai, not touching Peshâwar.

Trade of the city of Peshâwar.

The main trade of the district passes through the city of Peshâwar. The trade of Peshâwar, though of a varied and not uninteresting nature, is less extensive and less valuable than might perhaps have been expected. Its position points to importance as an entrepôt for trade with Central Asia; but results in this respect are far from satisfactory; and having no manufactures of its own, the city can look for little development of its commerce from any other source. The principal foreign markets having dealings with Peshâwar are Kâbul and Bokhara. From the former place, raw silk, worsted, cochineal, jalap, assafœtida, saffron, resin, simples, and fruits both fresh and dried are imported; principally for re-exportation to the Punjab and Hindûstan, whence are received in return English piece-goods, cambrics, silks, indigo, sugar, and spices. Bokhara supplies gold sequins, gold and silver thread and lace, principally for re-exportation to Kashmîr, whence the return trade is principally in shawls. Iron from Bajaur, and skin-coats (*postins*) are the only remaining items of importance coming from beyond the border. The

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

items of return trade are those already mentioned, with the addition of salt and tea, the former from Kohát, the latter purchased for the most part in the markets of Amritsar and Lahore. The transactions of the Pesháwar market, however, are as nothing when compared with the stream of through traffic from the direction of Kábul and Bokhara which passes on, not stopping at Pesháwar, into the Punjab and Northern India. If this could be arrested at Pesháwar, its market would at once become an entrepôt of the greatest importance. With a view to this end, some years ago an attempt was made to establish a yearly fair in the neighbourhood of the city. The scheme was first entertained in 1861, when a committee was appointed to take it into consideration. The report of this committee is extremely interesting, both as explaining the object of the proposed fair, and as throwing light upon the general features of the Central Asian trade. The following passages may be here extracted:—

Trade of the city of Pesháwar.

Report of the committee on the Pesháwar fair.

"The Pesháwar trade is carried on in the usual manner by resident firms of Amritsar, Lahore, Pesháwar, Kábul, and Bokhara, and by the well-known trading tribe of Paráchas of Afghánistan and Pesháwar; most of the Bokhara trade finds its way by this route. It is carried by Kábulís, Tajiks, and Shinwaris, who employ their camels in this manner. It is evident that the Pesháwar trade is capable of any degree of expansion, and that a fair, conveniently established, would tend to facilitate the exchange. To these men, time is important, as every march by which their journey is decreased lessens their expenses, and if the space to be traversed can be sufficiently reduced, it would be possible to make two trips instead of one. Instead of being dependent, as in the Derajat, on the migratory Lohanis (for by no other means can merchandize be taken through those passes) we possess in the Pesháwar route all the elements of an increasing traffic. We are nearer the markets we wish to supply; large trading communities are met with along the route, containing the capitalists and traders whose dealings we wish to facilitate; and the circumstances of the traffic render a decrease of distance all important, the very object with which we contemplate the establishment of a fair. And as in regard to the Derajat Multan suggests itself as the most convenient site for a fair, so the traders think that Pesháwar itself is the most suitable locality. Established agencies afford facilities for mercantile transactions, which a place of less note would not afford; the fair would attract the traders of Bajawar, Swát, Hazára, Kashmír, and the tribes on the upper Indus, and the Kábul river would bring some kinds of merchandize from Jalalabad and Daka, on the rafts now used for that purpose, to within six miles of the fair. The following objections may be urged against this scheme: first, that it removes the fair too far from the seaport; but with steam water-carriage for the heavier kinds of merchandize to Kálábágh, the rail to Amritsar, and the Trunk Road from that place, this objection will not counterbalance the advantages of the route; and were it more valid than it is, the Pesháwar route offers great facilities for an expansion of trade. The matter comes to this—we can bring goods cheaper to Multan than to Pesháwar, but the means of forwarding them on to Turkistan are much greater by the latter than by the former route, and considering the two facts together, the merchandize by Pesháwar will, in the markets of Turkistan, be cheaper than that by the Derajat. In the cold weather, goods can be brought by the Indus to Attock, and thence by the Kábul river to within six miles of Pesháwar. The second objection is the insecurity of the passes between Jalalabad and Pesháwar; but this is exaggerated. Guards are furnished by the tribes, who receive a kind of

black-mail in lieu, but even these demands are kept down by the circumstance of there being three routes into Afghánistan which are in the hands of different tribes. Any exaction on the part of one leads to the transfer of the traffic to another. In regard to the best time for holding the fair, January has been suggested as the most appropriate, but this is too late at Pesháwar, for the first *káfilas* (caravans) come down in October and November, and are not likely to wait for the fair of January. Under these circumstances, from the 15th of November to the 15th December would seem the most suitable time for holding the fair, and it may be possible that eventually a second fair at the close of March might be found advantageous."

Report of the committee on the Pesháwar fair.

No action was taken upon this report until 1867, and then two more years expired before arrangements were finally concluded for the fair. The site chosen was a small open plain near the Budni stream, about two miles from the city, and a considerable sum was expended in enclosing and fitting up a market-place. The first fair was held in September, 1869. The gross value of articles brought to the fair for sale was roughly estimated at Rs. 5,00,000; the registered sales aggregated Rs. 3,17,667.

Though this was not considered satisfactory, and it was evident that the fair failed to attract the attention which had been anticipated for it, a second fair was held in November and December of the following year. The results, however, were even less satisfactory than in 1869, the gross sales effected aggregating only Rs. 3,02,804.

The Deputy Commissioner now reported the attempt to be a failure. It was unpopular with the resident Pesháwar merchants; the down-country traders would not bring up their goods for sale, while the Kábulís preferred to seek a cheaper market either in Amritsar or Lahore, or, if rich enough to afford the journey, in Calcutta or Bombay. Caravans had even proceeded on their usual way through Pesháwar on the very days when the fairs were in progress. The scheme was therefore finally abandoned, and no subsequent attempts have been made to revive the fair.

Statistics of foreign trade.

Pesháwar is one of the districts in which foreign trade is registered, and the following note on the subject has been compiled from the reports of late years:—

There are five posts for the registration of foreign trade—

(1.) At Burj Hari Singh for the Khaibar route.
(2.) At Sara Sung for the Tátara route.
(3.) At Mathra for the Abkhána route.
(4.) At Shankargarh for the Gandab, Miankili, Chingi and Pandiali routes.
(5.) At Tangi for the Palaished Khana and Mula Kand routes.

The Khaibar, Tátara, Abkhana, and Gandab routes lead to Kábul and the independent Tirah country; the other routes lead to Swát and Bajaur.

In 1882-83 the value of the trade registered by each route was—

	Imports. Rs.	Exports. Rs.		Imports. Rs	Exports. Rs.
Khaibar ...	18,51,275	36,74,035	Miankili ...	5,694	84,662
Tátara ...	42,279	45,888	Pandiali ...	13,058	26,001
Abkhana ...	21,683	91,385	Palaished Khana	38,320	35,641
Gandab ...	14,830	20,552	Mula Kand ...	1,28,296	90,515
Chingi ...	80,278	1,10,430			

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures, Communications.

Statistics of foreign trade.

The Khaibar is the great highway of the trade with Kábul and Central Asia. Among the imports are horses, drugs, dyes, fibres, fruits, raw silk from Bokhara, and silk cloth. The most valuable exports are cotton piece goods, tea and indigo. The independent hill tribes bring down *ghi*, wood and fibres, and take back cotton piece goods, raw cotton, grain and salt. Mr. Donald Macnabb wrote as follows in 1876: "As illustrative of the amount of trade passing through Peshâwar, I may quote from the octroi registers a few items, remarking at the same time that the extensive and promising field for export trade, especially in Indian teas, beyond the Oxus, has in a great measure been cut off by the action taken by the Russians in their recently acquired provinces.

Abstract of the principal articles of Trade between Peshâwar and Kábul with its adjacent countries during 1875-76.

Detail.	Exports from Peshâwar.	Imports into Peshâwar.	Remarks.
	Rs.	Rs.	
1 Spices ...	49,000	20,000	
2 Dyes ..	.....	50,000	
3 Silk ...	.. ..	4,31,000	Likely to increase.
4 Nuts and fruits ...	.....	7,82,900	
5 Furs and skins ...	.....	1,31,000	
6 Woollen goods ...	.....	7,000	Woollen piece-goods and *chogas*.
7 Chogas, carpets ...	.....	35,000	Fallen off materially.
8 Tobacco ..	.....	24,000	
9 Gold wire ...	.. ...	20,000	
10 Timber .	.. ...	2,00,000	
11 Indigo ...	1,99,500	.....	Trade good.
12 Tea ...	3,24,480	.....	Exports increasing. Demand very encouraging.
13 Piece-goods ...	6,35,900	.....	Falling off very rapidly.
14 Fancy wares ..	2,10,000	.....	
15 Cured hides ...	38 560	.....	
16 Metals ..	45,000	.....	Copper chiefly.
17 Salt ...	49,850	.....	
18 Sugar ...	50,000	.....	

"The most valuable trade in connection with Bokhara is carried on in gold. The value of gold imported into Peshâwar exceeds Rs. 12,00,000 a year, all of which goes to Bombay. With three exceptions the Peshâwar traders have given up their business connection with Bokhara."

SECTION C.—PRICES, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, COMMUNICATIONS.

Prices, wages, rent rates, interest.

Table No. XXVI gives the retail bázar prices of commodities for the last twenty years. The wages of labour are shown in Table No. XXVII, and rent rates in Table No. XXI; but both sets of figures are probably of doubtful value. The figures of Table No. XXXII give the average values of land in rupees per acre shown in the margin for sale and mortgage; but the quality of land varies so enormously, and the value returned is so often fictitious, that but little reliance can be placed upon the figures.

Period.	Sale.	Mortgage
1868-69 to 1873-74 ...	32-9	21-7
1874-75 to 1877-78 ...	14-4	12-0
1878-79 to 1881-82 ...	33-7	32-5

The money business of the peasantry is mainly in the hands of village shopkeepers. There are no large native bankers except in Peshâwar. If money is borrowed, the interest charged ranges from 1, to 2, 3, 4, or even 4½ per cent. (in some cases one anna per rupee) every month, or four *seers* of produce per rupee at harvest time."

Value of produce during the last 33 years.

The statement given on page 159 was compiled by Capt. Hastings for assessment purposes in 1870, for a back period of 33 years; the prices are taken from books of traders and the district records; it shows the average for 33 years, the price current at annexation in 1855, at Major James' Summary Settlement, and in 1871; the last column shows the assumed price current upon which the produce estimates were based. The principal staples are cotton; maize, wheat and barley; from the statement below, it will be seen what the market prices have been every year, during the last twenty years:—

Price current for the main staples.

Staples.	A D. 1852.	A.D 1853.	A D. 1854.	A D. 1855	A.D. 1856.	A.D. 1857.	A.D. 1858.
	M. S. C.	M. S. C.	M. S. C.	M. S. C.	M. S. C.	M. S. C.	M. S. C
Cotton ...	0 15 15	0 16 0	0 15 0	0 15 15	0 14 0	0 10 4	0 10 0
Maize ...	1 19 10	0 23 7	0 36 14	1 15 13	1 13 0	1 28 14	1 2 14
Wheat	1 3 2	0 24 11	0 31 8	0 27 3	0 23 9	0 22 1	0 31 13
Barley ...	1 35 8	1 3 0	0 34 12	1 24 6	1 9 6	0 32 0	1 19 0

Staples.	A.D. 1859.	A D. 1860.	A.D. 1861.	A.D. 1862.	A.D. 1863	A.D. 1864.	A.D. 1865.
	M. S C	M. S C	M. S. C.	M. S C.	M S. C.	M, S, C,	M. S, C,
Cotton ...	0 10 0	0 15 15	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 8 0	0 12 0	0 9 12
Maize ...	1 8 4	1 23 12	1 24 8	0 27 4	1 30 3	1 6 0	0 36 13
Wheat ...	0 35 2	0 33 14	0 16 4	0 20 3	0 31 15	0 27 14	0 24 15
Barley ...	1 13 0	2 2 2	0 27 2	1 0 1	1 32 12	1 18 6	1 6 4

Staples.	A.D 1866.	A.D. 1867.	A.D. 1868.	A.D. 1869.	A.D. 1870.	A.D. 1871.	Average.
	M. S. C.	M S C	M. S C	M. S, C,	M, S. C,	M, S. C.	M. S. C.
Cotton ...	0 9 0	0 9 4	0 9 2	0 8 0	0 8 7	0 9 8	0 13 11
Maize ...	0 33 3	0 25 13	0 19 12	0 24 0	0 24 4	0 30 8	0 38 11
Wheat ...	0 26 0	0 18 3	0 16 8	0 16 4	0 15 12	0 15 12	0 27 11
Barley ...	1 3 7	0 30 11	0 26 4	0 36 6	0 30 10	0 30 10	1 20 5

These rates are thus discussed by Capt. Hastings. "First as regards *kapas*, it will be seen that the average price current for 20 years is 13 *sers* 11 *chitáks*. The prices shown in the statement are taken from the *kotwáli* and district returns; they are high as regards the prices which the cotton of other *tahsils* realizes. I fixed 15 *sers* for the rupee; this is favourable for *tashil* Peshâwar, but a fair average for the district. The rise in prices dates from 1863; in 1860 the price was 16 *sers* for the rupee, in 1861 and 1862, 13 *sers* were obtainable. The price of maize appears to have steadily risen since 1864; the average for the last 20 years is 38 *sers* 11 *chitáks*; in 1871 the price was 30 *sers* 8 *chitáks*. The price of wheat has also risen; the average for the last 20 years was 27 *sers* 11 *chitáks*; the average for 33 years was 32 *sers*; the value for the rupee in 1871 was just half, *viz.* 16 *sers*. Prices depend very much on the produce yielded by the Yusafzai and Hashtnagar *mairas*; if it is a good year and there are *maira* crops, prices fall, if not they remain high. Five years out of the twenty, the value for the rupee has been over 30 *sers*. In 1861 the value was 16 *sers*, in 1864, 27 *sers*, in 1865, 24 *sers*, in 1866, 26 *sers*. The average value of barley for the rupee for 33 years was one maund 20 *sers*, for 20 years, one maund 20 *sers*. No gram is produced in the district, and

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures, Communications.

Price-current for the main staples.

consequently barley is used as food by both man and beast; unripe barley in large quantities is sold at a cheap rate for horses' food, previous to the ripening of the crop. In 1871 the value for the rupee was 30 *sers* 10 *chitáks* it was over a maund for 12 years of the twenty. Prices are very much controlled by the *maira* yields. "The price currents assumed in *tahsil* Hashtnagar for the different kinds of produce are, with the exception of wheat, barley, Indian corn and *sarshaf*, the same as have been assumed for the four *tahsils* of Peshawar, Daudzai, Doába and Naushahra. The value of wheat for the rupee has been considered one maund, barley one maund ten *sers*; the difference in the value for the rupee as regards Peshawar is about four annas, owing to distance from the city and the large quantity often thrown into the market after a good *maira* crop. Indian corn is not sold —the people use it as food, so I have considered the value for the rupee one maund ten *sers*, the same as barley. There is a great deal of *sarshaf* produced on the *maira*; it is both here and in Mardán one of the staples; the price current for the rupee, in four *tahsils* was assumed at 20 *sers* for the rupee; but here and in Mardán more can always be obtained for the rupee and I have assumed the price current as 30 *sers*. As regards *charri*, it has been valued in *ábi* land at Rs. 12 per acre, and in *bárani* Rs. 6 per acre. In *tahsil* Mardán the values assumed are somewhat higher. For wheat the value of the rupee has been considered one maund, and for barley one maund 20 *sers*. This is the proportion at which the value of these two staples usually stand as regards one another in ordinary years, whatever the price current may be; that is to say, half as much barley again as wheat can be obtained for the same money. I am inclined to think now that it would have been better, looking to the averages obtained, if I had assumed one maund ten *sers* of barley as the value of the rupee throughout the district. The difference in value at Mardán compared with Peshawar is quite four annas in the rupee; at this rate the price current per rupee of wheat should be one maund and barley one maund ten *sers*, but as this does not represent the proportional value of these staples as they usually stand to one another in *tahsil* Mardán, I have assumed, as stated previously, wheat one maund, barley 1½ maund. The Indian corn or maize is used as food, and I have taken the same price current as assumed for *tahsil* Hashtnagar, *i.e.*, one maund ten *sers*. The large area of land under *sarshaf*, 5 per cent., shows it to be one of the staple crops of this *tahsil*; the price current was assumed at 30 *sers* as in Hashtnagar. A difference in the price current has also been made for *gur*, *mash*, *bajra*, *til*, *kangni* and *tara-mira*, according to the averages ascertained for the *tahsil*; they are cheaper here than in the other *tahsils*. The assumed prices are I think fair; they represent in each *tahsil* a fair average of what the *zamindars* receive."

Weights and measures.

The measure of grain current in the district, except in parts of Yusafzai, is a measure of weight. The Durani *ser* was equal to Rs. 102, Doadza-shahi; the Sikh *ser*, to Rs. 102, Nanak-shahi; the Peshawar *ser*, to Rs. 104, British coinage. There is a difference of ½ *masha* in weight between the Doadza-shahi, Nanak-shahi, and government rupee; the former being equal in weight to 12 *mashas*, the government rupee to 11½ *mashas* only. The government *ser* is equal to Rs. 80 and consequently the Peshawar maund exceeds the government maund in weight by 12 *sers*. The common calculation when weighing grain is by *dharis*, one *dhari* equal to four *ser*. In *tappas* Utman-nama and Razzar, of sub-division Yusafzai, there is a measure of capacity known as the *odi* or *ogi*, the tested contents of which are found to be in wheat or moth 5 ¼ *ser*, of barley and millet four

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures, Communications.

Price-current of main staples.

Name of Produce	1837-43. Average.	1843-48. Average.	1849-54 Average.	1855-60. Average.	1861-66. Average.	1867-69. Average.	Average of 20 years.	Average of 33 years.	A. D. 1849 Annexation.	A. D. 1855 James' Summary Settlement.	A. D. 1871.	Estimated for the future.
	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.	M. s. c.
Cotton (*Kapas*) ...	0 19 7	0 17 8	0 17 9	0 13 3	0 10 5	0 8 10	0 13 11	0 14 13	0 16 0	0 15 0	0 8 7	0 15 0
Rice (*Shali*) ...	1 15 4	1 5 13	0 34 13	0 39 8	0 39 4	0 24 0	0 31 2	0 39 1	0 39 0	0 34 7	0 21 2	1 0 0
Charri ...	2 15 14	1 23 2	1 8 10	1 9 2	1 10 6	0 21 7	1 6 7	1 19 9	1 12 0	1 10 0	0 30 5	1 10 0
Mash ...	0 27 0	0 26 4	0 26 14	0 22 0	0 17 8	0 11 7	0 20 0	0 23 4	0 20 12	0 21 5	0 12 4	0 20 0
Til ...	0 24 0	0 19 9	0 17 4	0 16 8	0 11 6	0 8 2	0 14 1	0 16 12	0 13 0	0 14 0	0 7 12	0 15 0
Makki ...	1 27 8	1 2 3	1 15 3	1 8 12	0 38 8	0 23 0	0 38 11	1 1 15	0 18 8	1 15 12	0 24 4	1 0 0
Mung ...	0 37 0	0 35 6	0 26 12	0 23 12	0 31 1	0 13 0	0 23 1	1 0 27 4	0 24 11	0 20 6	0 12 4	1 0 0
Gur ...	0 13 5	0 10 13	0 8 14	0 8 2	0 7 5	0 5 3	0 6 8	0 9 3	0 11 4	0 11 4	0 5 9	1 0 0
Hejra ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 38 0	...	0 35 0	0 21 3	0 30 0
Moth ...	1 6 14	1 7 2	0 37 0	0 37 10	0 30 4	0 20 12	0 27 11	0 33 6	0 28 0	0 27 13	0 15 13	0 30 0
Wheat ...	1 10 15	0 35 6	0 31 0	0 28 12	0 24 12	0 16 8	1 10 5	1 20 2	0 39 8	1 24 2	0 30 10	1 0 0
Barley ...	2 2 8	1 26 0	1 24 0	1 15 0	1 7 13	0 31 3	1 16 1	1 25 2	1 25 8	0 15 0	0 10 11	0 15 0
Tobacco ...	0 19 0	0 17 0	0 17 12	0 17 3	0 14 12	0 9 6	0 16 2	0 24 0	0 17 5	0 23 8	0 13 7	0 20 0
Sarshaf ...	0 26 0	0 26 0	0 24 10	0 26 3	0 18 2	0 24 3	0 21 14	0 15 2	0 20 13	0 22 8	0 14 5	0 30 0
Masur ...	0 38 0	0 36 0	0 30 3	0 26 3	0 24 0	0 30 10	0 27 2	0 30 9	0 31 4	0 31 8	0 8 6	0 12 0
Dhaniya ...	0 16 10	0 13 3	0 14 8	0 16 12	0 7 3	0 5 8	0 11 3	0 12 13	0 9 0	0 10 4	0 8 6	0 15 0
Henna ...	0 39 15	0 21 5	0 19 8	0 16 9	0 12 8	0 10 5	...	0 17 5	0 16 0	0 16 12	0 10 6	0 15 0
Sauf ...	0 13 8	0 11 13	0 10 0	0 8 7	0 7 5	0 5 14	...	0 9 10	0 11 0	0 10 8	0 6 5	0 10 0
Shaftal ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 8 0
Tara Mira ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 20 0
Beqila ...	1 2 8	0 39 6	1 3 0	1 0 12	0 38 4	0 27 0	...	0 39 5	0 39 0	0 33 0	0 23 12	1 0 0
Kangni ...	0 39 8	1 2 9	1 3 0	0 32 4	0 32 10	0 19 13	...	0 36 4	...	...	0 8 8	1 0 0
Kalul ...	1 2 8	1 9 3	1 11 0	1 2 0	1 0 0	0 8 14	...	1 3 5	1 4 0	0 32 0	0 24 11	1 0 0
Aarhar ...	0 31 10	0 38 11	0 26 7	0 23 0	0 16 8	0 21 4	...	0 25 4	0 31 0	0 14 0	0 14 6	0 25 0
Poppy Head ...	0 9 8	0 6 8	0 3 13	0 3 6	0 1 7	0 2 9	...	0 4 5	...	...	0 3 9	Rs 4 per acre.

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures, Communications.

sers, of Indian corn five *sers*, and of *sarshaf* 5⅛ *sers*. A *tsatal* or sackful of wheat, barley and *jowar* is usually between three and four maunds in weight. The local *ser* is equivalent to about 1⅜ seers of the standard measure. The local scale in use for the measurent of grain is—

Weights and measures.

1½	double pice	=	1 *sarsahi*
8	*sarsahi*	=	1 *chittak*
4	*chittak*	=	1 *páo*
4	*páo*	=	1 seer (local)
4	seers	=	1 *dhari*
10	*dharis*	=	1 *man*
4	*man*	=	1 *chat* (or sack, a bullock load.)

Distance is popularly expressed in multiples of a somewhat indefinite standard, the *kroh*, supposed to be equivalent to 4,000 paces of a camel. In practice it is found that two *kroh* are equivalent to about three English miles.

The local measure of land depends upon the quantity of seed sown in it, and is known by the same name. Thus one maund of land is the area on which a maund of wheat or barley will be sown. The local chain or *jarib* is 22 yards, and a square *jarib* is 484 square yards, or a tenth of an acre. There is also a local *bigah* five square *jaribs*, 2,420 square yards, or half an acre. The scale used at Settlement was 60 *karus* or 330 feet to the inch, which is equivalent to 16 inches to the mile.

Communications.

The statement in the margin shows the communications of the district as returned in quinquennial Table No. I of the Administration Report for 1878-79, while Table No. XLVI shows the distances from place to place as authoritatively fixed for the purpose of calculating travelling allowance. Table No. XIX shows the area taken up by Government for communications in the district.

Communications.	Miles
Navigable rivers ..	67
Metalled road ..	55
Unmetalled roads	550

Navigable rivers.

The main streams of the Indus, Swát and Kábul, together with the Sháh Alam, Nágomán and Adazai branches of the last, are navigable throughout the valley at all seasons; but within the hills, except at certain points where there are ferries, the current is too strong for the use of boats. On this portion of the rivers Swát and Kábul, rafts of timber, or inflated skins, are employed to bring down merchandize from Lálpura and Jalálabád to Michni. The tolls, however, levied by the Mohmands are so high, and the frequent inspection of the rafts by unscrupulous and greedy gangs so harassing, that the land route is generally preferred. There are two classes of boat used in the district: (1). The *bazai*, a large boat having a square projecting poop and front, used for freight only; length 24 yards, breadth 6 yards, height 1¾ yards; takes five months to make, carries 800 maunds, and costs from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,200. They do not go farther than Makhad or Kálábágh, whence they are usually towed back; but are often sold. (2) The *kishti*, or ordinary ferry boat, having a front sharply pointed and inclined upwards; these are used for ferry purposes. The bottom planks are usually of *shisham* (*Dalbergia sissu*), the sides of *deodár*. The planks are four inches thick, and are clamped and bound with iron. Thay have no rudders, but are guided by four sculls (*chappa*) two in front and two behind. There are about 163 boats of all kinds in the district

including those used upon the ferries of the Indus. The boatmen form a kind of guild and possess hereditary rights at their several ferries. Those at Attock enjoy a *jágír* originally granted to them by Akbar, worth Rs. 500 a year. The boats are the property of the men, and are kept in repair by them. At the minor ferries payments are usually made in kind, the boatmen collecting certain dues every season from the villages which use the ferry. Some of the boatmen engage in agriculture, where their numbers are larger than are required for working the ferry. They are active and hard-working men, especially expert in the construction of bridges of boats over rapid rivers.

Besides boats, inflated skins *(shináz)* are freely used for crossing the rivers. Not only the boatmen but most of the residents of villages adjacent to any of the rivers, are expert in the use of the *shináz*. The practice is useful both to individuals and to the public, but owing to its frequent use for purposes of robbery, it has been found necessary to check it, by requiring a license to be taken out for the right of possession of a *shináz*. With reference to this system Major James observes :—" I am afraid the check is all the wrong way : a hill-robber brings down his *unlicensed* skin under his arm, and as readily packs it up and takes it away; his pursuit, at all times doubtful, becomes impossible where there are no licensed skins in a village. Michni Mohmands are particularly expert in this mode of passage ; gangs of them would float down the river by night and surprise a village, murdering some of the inhabitants, and carrying off property and Hindús, forcing the latter to get upon their backs whilst they swam across. When the headmen of a village bear a good character," he adds, " I have given out licenses very freely, knowing that the hardships, which would otherwise be imposed on many of the agricultural communities, would be very great."

Bridges and ferries.

The subjoined statement will show the number of bridges and ferries on the different rivers and their brnches :—

Name of river	Name of branch	Bridge of boats for how long.	Ferries.	Remarks.
Indus* ...	.....	... ..	2	Ferries at Pihúr and Hind
Kábul ...	Nágomán ...	1 for 7 months	3	Nahakki, Mian Gujar, and Zakhi.
Do. ...	..	...	1	Michni
Do. ...	Sháh Alam ...	1 Whole year	.....	In limits of Khazánáh.
Do. ...	Adazai	.....	2	Adazai and Garhi Mohkam Sháh.
Lundi ..	.....	1 Do.	5	Nisatta, Dheri Zardád, Kheshgi, Akora, Jahangira.
Do. ...	.....	1 Do.	.....	*Nowshera* leading to Mardán and Yusafzai.
Swát ..	Abazai ...	.....	3	Abazai, Turlandi, Marozai.
Do. ..	Kathiala ...	.....	4	Kharakki, Nahakki, Garhi Gaggar, Daulatpurah.
Do. ...	Khyali ...	.....	1	Sháhi Kulali.
Do. ...	Shambor ...	.....	3	Charsadda, Kazi Khel and Rajjar.

* There was a bridge of boats between Khairabád and Attock. The railway bridge was opened in June 1883. It has a sub-way for ordinary traffic and the bridge of boats has been abolished.

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures, Communications.

Railways.

Roads.

	Miles
Pesháwar Cantonment ...	...
Pesháwar City ...	3
Pabbi	14
Nowshera tahsíl ...	24
Nowshera	27
Akora	35
Khairábád	44

The Panjáb Northern State Railway has lately been opened as far as the cantonments, and the stations on the line within the district are as shown in the margin.

The following table shows the only metalled roads of the district together with the halting places on them and conveniences for travellers to be found at each. The Grand Trunk Road enter the district opposite Attock and runs to Pesháwar:—

Route.	Halting place	Distance in miles.	Remarks.
Grand Trunk Road.	Khairábád ...	...	Encamping-ground and *sarai*.
	Akora ...	8	Ditto.
	Nowshera ...	8	Ditto and dák bungalow.
	Táru ...	17	Ditto.

There are also unmetalled roads from Nowshera to Mardán 15 miles, Pesháwar to Hashtnagar 25 miles, and Pesháwar to Doába Dáúdzai 18 miles, on which there are no fixed halting places. The last two roads cross the Kábul river and become impassable when river is in flood.

The other roads of importance are—

1. From Pesháwar to Kohát, *viâ* Fort Mackeson and the Kohát pass. 37½ miles.
2. From Pesháwar to Kohát, *viâ* Bála, on No. 3, and the Jawáki pass: 66 miles.
3. From Pesháwar to Cherát, *viâ* Jaluzai and Shahkot:* 30 miles.
4. From Pesháwar to Mardán, *viâ* Akbarpur and Nisatta; 32½ miles.
5. From Pesháwar to Abazai Fort, *viâ* Práng and the east bank of the Swát; 32½ miles.
6. From Pesháwar to Shabkadar; 18 miles.
7. From Pesháwar to Michni: 14½ miles.
8. From Pesháwar to Kábul, *viâ* Jarmúd and the Khaibar pass: 190 miles.
9. From Pesháwar to Bára Fort; 8 miles.
10. From Jaluzai, on No. 3, to Mír Kalán pass in Khattak hills.
11. From Jaluzai to Kánakhel pass in Khattak hills (an old road from Pesháwar to Hindustán).
12. From Jaluzai to Kákakhel Ziárat: 13 miles.
13. From Mardán to Abbottábad, *viâ* Turbela on the Indus: 82 miles.
14. From Nowshera to Mir Kalan: 16 miles.

* There is also an old road from Shahkot to Cherat which is three miles shorter.

These roads are unmetalled and unbridged. Often they are mere tracks. The ravines and water-courses, however, are for the most part made practicable for artillery.

Staging Bungalows &c.

There are staging bungalows in the district at Peshâwar, Nowshera. There are *sarais* at Matanni, Badhber, Táru, Nowshera, Akora. Peshâwar. At the following places also there are rooms for officers when on tour: Mackeson, Bára, Abazai, Michni, Shabkadar, Kátlang, Swábi, Rustam, Matani, Nisatha, Charat, Pihur, Charsadda. There is a sessions house at Mardán.

Post Offices.

There are the following Post Offices, Money Order Offices and Savings Banks in the district:—

Imperial Post Offices.

Peshâwar ... S B. & M. O.	Badhber.
Peshâwar City 3 Branches	Cherat ... S. B. & M. O.
Nowshera ... S. B. & M. O.	Garhi Kapura.
Nowshera City.	Jamrúd ... S. B. & M. O.
Mardán ... S. B. & M. O,	Shewa.
Abazai ... S. B. & M. O.	Zeda.

District Post Offices.

Akora ... S. B. & M. O.	Pabbí ... S. B. M. O.
Charsadda ... S. B. & M. O.	Rustam.
Dáudzai ... S. B. & M. O.	Swabi.
Katlang.	Shabkadar.
Mathra.	Tangi.
Nawákila.	

Telegraph.

A line of telegraph runs along the length of the Railway with a Telegraph Office at each station. There is also an Imperial Telegraph Office in the Cantonment.

There are branch telegraph lines to Jamrúd, Mardán, and Cherát. Telephones connect the Police stations in the city with the central police office, and the Sadr Bazar in Cantonments.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE.

SECTION A.—GENERAL.

Chapter V, A.

General Administration.

Executive and Judicial.

The Peshâwar district is under the control of the Commissioner of the Peshâwar Division, who is assisted by a Civil and Sessions Judge. These officers sometimes carry on their duties during part of the summer months either at Abbottâbâd or some other station in the Hazâra district. The ordinary head-quarters' staff of the district consists of a Deputy Commissioner, a Judicial Assistant Commissioner, a Judge of the Cantonment Small Cause Court, two Assistant and three Extra Assistant Commissioners. An Assistant Commissioner is posted at Mardân in charge of the Yusafzai sub-division. Each *tahsîl* is in charge of a *tahsîldar* assisted by a *nâib*. The village revenue staff is shown in the margin. There is one *munsiff* who holds his court at the *Sadr*. There is also a political officer in charge of the Khaibar pass who has his office at Fort Jamrûd. The statistics of civil and revenue litigation for the last five years are given in Table No. XXXIX. The *tahsîls* of Mardân and Utmân Bolak form the separate sub-division of Yusafzai under the special charge of an Assistant Commissioner, subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner of the district. It is made up of 197 villages, and forms the north-east portion of the district. It is bounded by the Indus on the east, on the west by *tahsîl* Hashtnagar; its northern part reaches to the southern slopes of the hills which form the north-eastern boundary of the district, and on its south is the *tahsîl* of Nowshera. It has a superficial area of 1,001 square miles, or about half the area of the district.

Tahsîl.	Kanúngos and Náibs	Patwâris and Assistants
Peshâwar ...	2	84
Doâba Dâúdzai ...	2	60
Hashtnagar ...	2	29
Mardân ...	2	40
Utmân Bolak ...	2	47
Nowshera ...	2	60

Criminal, Police, and Jails.

The executive staff of the district is supplemented by a Cantonment Magistrate, and assisted by a Bench of Honorary Magistrates who sit at head-quarters; and by Nawab Muhammad Sarfaráz Khân, Mohmand, who has magisterial powers within the limits of his *jágír*.

The police force is controlled by a District Superintendent and two assistants, one of whom is with the District Superintendent in charge of the city of Peshâwar. A third is in command of the Border Police and Frontier Militia. He is subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner, not to the District Superintendent. The District Superintendent and one of the assistants enjoy the City Police allow-

ances of Rs. 200 and 100 per mensem respectively. The strength of the force, as it stood on 1st July 1883, is shown in the margin. Besides the Regular Police there is the Border Police and Frontier Militia, commanded by an Assistant District Superintendent of Police. For the total strength of this force of all grades, see Section B of this Chapter. In addition to these two forces, 999 village watchmen are entertained and paid at three to four rupees per mensem, and in many cases in cash and also in kind. The *thánas*, or principal police jurisdictions, are distributed as follows:—

Class of Police.	Total Strength.	Distribution.	
		Standing guards.	Protection and detection.
District (Imperial)	664	93	571
Cantonment ...	177	...	177
Municipal ...	265	...	265
Punitive police ...	29	...	29
Canal, river, and ferry	...	...	...

Tahsíl Peshawar.—*Thánas*—Sadr Station, Badhber, Matanni, Burj Hari Singh, Mathra.

Tahsíl Nowshera.—*Thánas*—Táru, Nowshera, Cherát,* Akora, outpost Khairábád.

Tahsíl Mardán.—*Thánas*—Mardán, Kátlang, Rustam.

Tahsíl Utmán Bolák.—*Thánas*—Swábi, Rajjar, Bolák.

Tahsíl Hashtnagar.—*Thánas*—Tangi, Chársadda.

Tahsíl Doába Dáúdzai.—*Thánas*—Khazána, Shankargarh.

The road posts are distributed as follows:—

Tahsíl Peshawar.—Sarai Maweshi, Sarbulandpur, Garhi Sardár, Burj Bára, Páoka, Jangli Ladur, Bára Tar, Bára Khushk.

Tahsíl Nowshera.—Pabbi Baoli, Kattikhel, Wattar Saidú, Nowshera bridge.

Tahsíl Mardán.—Rashaki.

Tahsíl Utmán Bolák.—Road Post Koháti.

Tahsíl Doába Dáúdzai.—Road Post Budni.

There are cattle-pounds at the following places:—

City Peshawar	In charge of Police Department.
Tangi Táru	
Nowshera and Akora	
Mardán ... ... „ „	Tahsíldár Mardán.
Cantonment Peshawar ... ... „ „	Cantonment Magistrate.

The district is under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, who is also *ex-officio* Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Peshawar district, and political officer for the hill tribes round, and also Commandant of the Border Police and Militia. The district gaol at head-quarters contains accommodation for 419 male and 18 female prisoners; there is also a lock-up capable of holding 112 male and 13 female prisoners, and civil barracks, which can accommodate 9 male and 3 female prisoners. The excess number of prisoners is accommodated in the manufactory barracks and tents when necessary. Transportation and long-term prisoners are transferred to down-country gaols after the expiration of the period of appeal, or when the decision of the Appellate Court is known. Table No. XL gives statistics of criminal trials, Table No. XLI of police inquiries, and

* Cherat, only in the summer months.

Chapter V, A. General.

Criminal, Police, and Jails.

Table No. XLII of convicts in gaol for the last five years. There are no criminal tribes in the Pesháwar district. Crime is prevalent; and connected, as the people generally say, with "*zan, zar*, or *zamín*," *i.e.*, woman, money, or land. The murders are more numerous than elsewhere in the Punjab; many originate from old blood feuds, and no small number are the result of quarrels regarding women, and boys the object of unnatural lust, one of the vices of the district. Section 32 of the Arms Act is not in force, and consequently there is no difficulty in finding the means to commit murder, which is often effected by carefully planned midnight assassinations, cruel and brutal in their character. Cattle-poisoning and rick-burning are also common; they are the usual means of gratifying spite.

Revenue, Taxation and Registration.

The gross revenue collections of the district for the last 14 years, so far as they are made by the Financial Commissioner, are shown in Table No. XXVIII, while Tables Nos. XXIX, XXXV, XXXIV, and, XXXIII give further details for land revenue, excise, license tax, and stamps, respectively. Table No. XXXIIIA shows the number and situation of registration offices. There is only one central distillery in this district for the manufacture of country liquor, which is situated in the city of Pesháwar outside the Kohát gate. Poppy is cultivated in the district to some extent. Table No. XXXVI gives the income and expenditure from District Funds, which are controlled by a Committee consisting of 76 members selected by the Deputy Commissioner from among the leading men of the various *tahsíls*, and of the Assistant Commissioners, the Extra Assistant Commissioners, the Civil Surgeon, the Educational Inspector of the circle, the Executive Engineer, and the *tahsíldárs* as *ex-officio* members, and the Deputy Commissioner as President. Table No. XLV gives statistics for municipal taxation, while the municipalities themselves are noticed in Chapter VI.

The income and provincial properties for the last five years is shown below:—

Source of Income.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.
Ferries with boat-bridges ...	34,554	40,425	36,495	43,207	36,296
Ferries without boat-bridges ...	9,496	10,611	12,000	13,296	10,912
Staging bungalows, &c. ...	1,653	2,141	1,940	1,155	1,018
Encamping-grounds ...	208	92	340	246	...
Cattle-pounds	793	868	1,188	776	755
Nazúl properties	...	...	...	..	...
Total	46,704	54,137	51,963	58,680	48,979

The ferries, bungalows, and encamping-grounds have already been noticed at pages 161, 3, and the cattle-pounds at page 165. The principal *nazúl* properties in this district are five in number, as detailed below; they yield no income, and consequently deserve no special mention:—

1. Residency building.
2. Residency garden.
3. Mirza Husn Ali Khán's Haveli.
4. Stable inside the Taxáli gate.
5. Circuit house garden at Mardán.

Figures for other Government estates are given in Table No. XVII, and they and their proceeds are noticed in the succeeding

Chapter V, A. General.

Section of this Chapter, in which the land revenue administration of the district is treated of.

Statistics of land revenue.

Source of revenue.	1880-81	1881-82.
	Rs.	Rs.
Surplus warrant (*talabánah*)	277	5
Leases of gardens and groves	30	30
Water mills	592	478
Other items of miscellaneous land revenue ...	93	30

Table No. XXIX gives figures for the principal items and the totals of land revenue collections since 1868-69. The remaining items for 1880-81 and 1881-82 are shown in the margin.

Table No. XXXI gives details of balances, remissions, and agricultural advances for the last fourteen years; Table No. XXX shows the amount of assigned land revenue; while Table No. XIV gives the areas upon which the present land revenue of the district is assessed. Further details as to the basis, incidence, and working of the current Settlement will be found below in Section C of this Chapter.

Customs. Salt.

In the Pesháwar district itself the only establishment of the Northern India Salt Revenue Department is at the Attock bridge, where men are stationed to prevent salt from being carried by the railway, The other guard posts are on the left bank of the river and are therefore not in the Pesháwar district. If these are included, then the total cost of the establishment maintained to prevent salt from being transported from Pesháwar across the Indus is 148 men at a cost of Rs. 18,847 per annum.

Education.

Table No. XXXVII gives figures for the Government and aided, high, middle, and primary schools of the district. There are four middle schools for boys at the Pesháwar city, Nowshera Kalán, Mardán, and Chársadda; while the primary schools are situated at Pesháwar Jail, Chamkanni, Landi, Badhber, Pushtikhara, and Maswa, in the Pesháwar *tahsíl*; at Nowshera Kalán, Nowshera Cantonment, Akora, and Saidú, in the Nowshera *tahsíl*; at Mardán, Táru, Mardán Guides, and Garhi Kapúrá, in the Mardan *tahsíl*; at Zeda, Jehángira, Marghoz, Kotha, Manéri, Yárhusen, Shewa, and Surkhdheri, in the Utmán Bolák *tahsíl*; at Chársadda, Nissatta, Torangzai, and Tangi in the Hashtnagar *tahsíl*; at Shankargarh, Matta Moghulkhel, Sarikh, and Gulbela, in the Doába Dáúdzai *tahsíl*. The district lies within the Rávalpindi circle, which forms the charge of the inspector of schools at Ráwalpindi. Table No. XIII gives statistics of education for 1882-83 and the general state of education has already been discussed in Chapter III, page 97. Among the indigenous schools there is none worthy of notice, but it might be mentioned here that there are generally more than one in most populous villages; the pupils in these schools read the Korán and other religious books. The *mullás* or teachers of these institutions are generally given a piece of culturable land in each village, which is called *sarai*. They also obtain fees at marriages and funerals. There are some villages where girls are taught by private women who can teach the Korán. The mission schools have already been noticed in Chapter III, Section B.

Medical.

Table No. XXXVIII gives separate figures for the last five years for each of the dispensaries of the district, which are under the general control of the Civil Surgeons of Pesháwar and Mardán. The

Chapter V, A. General. Medical.

Regimental Surgeon at Mardán has collateral charge of Yusafzai sub-division. The Staff Surgeons at Nowshera and Shabkadr carry on the duties of Civil Surgeon at those stations, for which they are remunerated by fees. There is also the Egerton Hospital in the immediate charge of an Assistant Surgeon aided by a Native Doctor, which is separately described below. There are two lock hospitals in the district, one of the second class at Pesháwar Cantonments, which was in 1882 substituted for one of the first class in the city, and another of the second class at Nowshera founded in 1872. The District Vaccination Establishment consists of a Native Superintendent and one first class, two second class, and four third class vaccinators.

The Egerton Hospital.

The old hospital, which stood on the site now occupied by the Egerton Hospital, existed many years. An Assistant Surgeon was first placed in charge of it on 1st September 1866, but it had been founded long before that date, probably since 1854. The old building not affording sufficient accommodation, the present hospital was begun in 1881, and was opened by the Marquis of Ripon in November 1882, and named the Egerton Hospital. It cost Rs. 64,192, which was met from municipal funds. The hospital is centrally situated within the city, and consists of a central domed block and two oblong wards, one on each side of the central block, from which they are completely detached. The central building contains the out-patient room, office, dispensing room and specially lighted operation room. Each of the lateral wards—one medical, the other surgical—affords accommodation for fourteen in-patients, and has also two small rooms for eye cases. A broad verandah runs round the lateral building, and a small turret occupies each corner. The private wards, of which there are six, and the female wards ten, are in two lines, looking out on a small garden of which they form two boundaries, a third being formed by the servants' houses. The private and female wards are built of brick, each consisting of a small room with a verandah in front. The total number of in-door patients for which accommodation is provided is 48; a larger number might with safety be admitted in the cold weather. The staff consists of an Assistant Surgeon, a Hospital Assistant, two Compounders, and menials, the whole being controlled by the Civil Surgeon.

Ecclesiastical.

There is a large Church at Pesháwar capable of seating some 1,000 persons. There is also a Church at Nowshera which could accommodate about 500 persons. Each of these Churches has its Chaplain. There is also a Mission Chapel which could seat nearly 150 persons, and there is now in the city a handsome Mission Church There are three Roman Catholic Priests, who are stationed at Pesháwar, Nowshera, and Cherát. There are, however, only two Roman Catholic Chapels, each of which is capable of seating some 500 persons. The Pesháwar Mission is described in Chapter III, page 94.

Head-quarters of other departments.

Pesháwar is the north-west terminus of the Punjab Northern State Railway. The portion of the Railway which terminates at the Pesháwar Cantonment is in the charge of the District Traffic Superintendent at Ráwalpindi, while the control of the Railway is in the hands of the Manager. The head-quarters of the Punjab Northern State Railway are at Ráwalpindi. The Swát River Canal is

Chapter V, B.

Military and Frontier.

under the control of the Executive Engineer, Swát River Canal Division, stationed at Mardán, while the head-works of the canal are in charge of an Assistant Engineer stationed at Abazai. The Superintending Engineer of the canal has his head-quarters at Ráwalpindi, and the Chief Engineer at Lahore. The Grand Trunk Road is under the Executive Engineer, General Branch, at Abbottábád in the Hazára district, one of the districts of the Pesháwar Division, aided by an Assistant Engineer at Pesháwar, while both are subordinate to the Superintending Engineer, General Branch, at Ráwalpindi. The military buildings and roads in Cantonments are in charge of the Executive Engineer, Military Works, at Pesháwar, who is subordinate to the Superintending Engineer, Ráwalpindi Command, Military Works. The Telegraph lines and offices of the district are in charge of the Sub-Assistant Superintendent at Pesháwar, under the control of the Assistant Superintendent of Telegraphs at Ráwalpindi. The Post Offices are controlled by the Superintendent of Post Offices at Ráwalpindi. The Bára water-works are under the Executive Engineer, Military Works, at Pesháwar; and the Superintending Engineer, Ráwalpindi Command, Military Works, at Ráwalpindi.

Head-quarters of other departments.

SECTION B.—MILITARY AND FRONTIER.

Cantonments, troops, &c.

The principal military station is the cantonment of Pesháwar, situated to the west of the city. The figures on the next page give the garrison of the district. The first statement shows all the troops under the command of the Commander-in-Chief. The second statement refers to the Guide Corps, which is stationed at Mardán, and is under the command of the Brigadier-General, Frontier Force, who is not under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Fort Abazai and Jhindá on the Swát River Canal are garrisoned by detachments from the Guides. The Border Police, which is distinct from the Regular Police, is noticed below. Fort Mackeson is at present held by the Border Police till the new posts at Darya Khán and Tarakai are sanctioned. Till the new post at Jála Lálú is sanctioned, the garrison are located at Balolzai. Cherát, a hill in the Khattak country, is used as a sanitarium for troops in the summer months; the men and officers live in tents: as yet huts have not been built for their accommodation, and the number of troops sent up annually varies considerably. This question is now under the consideration of Government. There is an Executive Commissariat Officer in Pesháwar Cantonment.

In the summer nearly all the available transport is taken up in carrying water for the troops at Cherát, which is situated three miles distant from Chapri where the water-supply is.

Frontier posts and Border Police.

The military posts that protect the Pesháwar Frontier, with their respective garrisons, have just been detailed, while a short description of each will be found in Chapter VI. The figures at the top of page 171 show the strength and distribution of the Border Police of the district. The Border Police and Militia is one force under the

Chapter V, B.

Military and Frontier.

Cantonments, Troops, &c

Statement showing the strength of Troops in the Peshâwar district (1883).

1	2			3	4	5		6	7		8
Station.	Regimental and Staff Officers.			Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.							Remarks.
				Artillery Non-commissioned Officers and Men	Sappers and Miners.	Native Cavalry.		British Infantry.	Native Infantry.		
	S. (1)	R (2)	M (3)			O. (4)	R & F. (5)		O. (4)	R. & F (5)	
Peshâwar ...	11	106	15	157	244	14	599	1,729	42	2,209	
Nowshera ...	1	43	5	...	..	14	603	804	14	723	
Fort Peshâwar ...	...	2	.	...	...	...	..	39	2	59	
Jamrúd ...	...	1	...	...	...	1	51	...	2	90	
Michni ..	1	..	..	...	...	...	7	2	2	90	
Shabkadr ..	1	..	1	...	...	1	38	...	2	93	
Total ...	14	152	21	157	244	30	1,298	2,574	64	3,264	

(1) Staff officers.
(2) Regimental officers.
(3) Medical officers.
(4) Native officers.
(5) Rank and File.

Statement showing the strength of the "Q. O." Corps of Guides on the 24th December, 1883.

Station.	Cavalry.				Infantry.				Total.				Remarks.
	British officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers	Rank and file.	British officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers.	Rank and file.	British officers.	Native officers	Non-commissioned officers	Rank and file.	
At Mardán ..	2	9	30	255	9	14	70	625	11	23	100	880	
„ Abazai ...	1	1	6	43	...	1	7	77	1	2	13	120	
„ Jhinda ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	31		1	3	31	
Total ...	3	10	36	298	9	16	80	733	12	26	116	1,031	

orders of the Deputy Commissioner; it is entirely distinct from the Regular Police; the posts are placed at convenient distances along the border, and the duty of the men is to patrol and prevent raids, to go into the hills as spies and ascertain what is going on. The system has only been introduced in the Mohmand-Khâlil and Doâba borders: it is not in force in Hashtnagar nor in Yusafzai as our own people there are strong enough to defend themselves. The Peshâwar system differs from that of the Derajât in that in the former the Deputy Commissioner has entire control, in the latter the cavalry officers command the Deputy Commissioner, leaving in his hands nothing but the nomination to vacancies.

Sanctioned strength of the Border Police and Militia Posts in the Peshâwar district.

Serial Number.	Name of Post.	Inspector.	Deputy Inspector.	Sergeants.	Moharrirs.	Sowárs.	Constables, 1st grade.	Constables, 2nd grade.	Total.	Remarks.
1	Reserve ...	1	1	2	2	6	8	8	28	
2	Shamshattu ...	...	1	2	1	4	12	12	32	
3	Tarakai ...	...	...	1	...	...	5	5	11	Fort Mackeson at present (temporarily).
4	Darya Khán ...	...	1	2	1	6	12	12	34	
5	Garhi Jáni ...	...	1	2	1	4	16	16	40	
6	Jula Taláo ...	...	1	2	1	...	25	25	54	At Balolzai at present (temporarily).
7	Bára Fort ...	...	1	2	1	4	20	20	48	
8	Kacha Garhi ...	...	1	2	1	2	10	10	26	
9	Spír Sang ...	...	1	1	1	...	8	8	19	
10	Shahdád Garhi ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	4	
11	Miánkhel ...	...	1	1	1	...	8	8	19	
12	Khwar Subhán ...	...	1	2	1	...	10	10	24	
13	Matta Moghalkhel ...	...	1	1	1	2	12	12	29	
	Total ...	1	11	20	12	28	148	148	368	

Frontier administration.

*Before proceeding to an account of the Peshâwar frontier administration, it will be convenient to prefix a short statement of the tribes that fringe the Peshâwar border, commencing at the eastern-most corner of the district on the Indus opposite Torbela, thence proceeding west till the Swát river is reached, thence south as far as the Kohat Pass, and then east towards the Indus. From the Indus to the Swát river the country within and without our border is almost exclusively occupied by various sections of the Yusafzai and their great offshoot, the Mandanr clans. Roughly speaking, the Yusafzai proper are settled in Dir, Swát, Bunér and the upper Indus hills; the Mandanr clans in the Yusafzai plain and the valleys between Bunér and the Indus. The tract immediately along the right bank of the river Indus is held by the comparatively small tribe of the Utmanzai, a Mandanr clan of whom the majority live in British territory, in the Swabi *tahsíl* of the Peshâwar district and the Haripur *tahsíl* of the Hazára district. Immediately north of the Utmanzai lies Amb and the few villages held by the Nawáb on the right bank of the Indus. Beyond them again are settled the Maddakhel section of the Isazai, of whom the other two sub-divisions, the Hassanzai and the Akazai, occupy the Black Mountain. Next to the Utmanzai along our border live the Gaduns. A large portion of this tribe resides in the Hazára district in the neighbourhood of Abbottábád. They are not an Afghán race, but appear to be allied to the Tanaolis of Amb and to other races, such as the Dilazaks, who appear to have been ousted from the hills round the Peshâwar valley by the irruption of the Yusafzai tribes in the 14th and 15th centuries. Subsequently a portion of the Gaduns were called in as mercenaries by the Utmanzai tribe to assist them in their struggles with

*The following note has been supplied by Mr. Merk, and is partly based upon Paget's expeditions on the N. W. Frontier, revised by Lt. Mason, R E.

Chapter V, B.

Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

the neighbouring clans. Waxing in power and influence the Gaduns, who had originally settled in their present habitations as tenants of the Utmanzai, gradually expelled their masters and now hold the tract in independent right. Proceeding further west we come to the Khudukhel, who belong to the Mandanr stock. Their original home is in British territory, in the Utmán Bolák *tahsíl*, where a section of the clan still owns the villages of Baja and Bamkhel. They occupy the south-western slopes of the Mahaban range. North of the Khudukhel and of the Gaduns are the Amazai, a branch of the Yusafzai. The tribe is divided into two sections, of whom one occupies the Sudhum valley in the Mardán *tahsíl* of Yusafzai, and the other lives in independent territory on the northern and western slopes of the Mahaban. There is not much connection now maintained between the two sections, who are divided by an intervening strip of country of about 30 miles in width held by other clans. Beyond the independent Amazai again are the cis-Indus Hassanzai and the Chigharzai. To the north-east of the Khudukhel settlements is the valley of Chamla, which is held by a mixed body of detachments of the clans that live in the Yusafzai plain, chiefly from the Razzar sub-division of the Utmán Bolák *tahsíl*. The relations of the men of Chamla with their cousins in British territory are somewhat faint, but the connection is still to some extent acknowledged. Chamla lies completely under the influence of the powerful clans of Bunér. Here commence the Yusafzai tribes. Next to Bunér come the tribes that hold the Swát valley. Swát proper comprises the valley of the Swát river from its junction with the Panjkora river to the village of Charari. Above Charari is the Kohistan of Swát, inhabited by a race that appears to have close affinities with the people of Yasin, Gilgit, and Chitral. The boundary of the Swát valley towards British territory is the Mora range, the southern slopes of which are inhabited by a section of the Ranizai tribe; the tract from the British border to the range being known as Sam Ranizai. From Sam Ranizai to the Swát river, where it enters British territory at the Fort of Abazai, the hills are held by the Utmankhel tribe, who also occupy the country on the right bank of the river as far as Bajaur and the limits of the Mohmands. A small section of the Utmankhel is settled in the north-western corner of the Yusafzai sub-division within the British border. But the Utmankhel of British territory have long ago severed their connection with the independent portion of their tribe. The Utmankhel do not belong to the Yusafzai tribe, the western boundary of whose territory is formed by them. The country lying between the Swát and Kábul rivers is held by Mohmand tribes who extend north up to the range that flanks the left bank of the Kunar river, and to the west as far as Jelálabád and the Shinwaris. Taking them in the order as they lie from the Swát river to the Kábul, the following sections of the Mohmands border on the Pesháwar district—The Burhankhel and Isakhel, the Halimzai and the Tarakzai. South of the Kábul river in immediate proximity to the British territory live the Mullagoris, whose settlements

Frontier administration.

terminate near Jamrúd at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass. They are, or rather were in former days, a vassal clan of the Mohmands who immediately to their west hold the Shilman valleys. Next to the Mullagoris, and completing the chain of independent tribes round the Peshâwar valley come the Afridis, who are divided into the three great sections of the Khaibar Afridis, the Akakhel, and the Adamkhel. The Khaibar Afridis touch the Peshâwar border only along the short line extending from fort Jamrúd to the point where the Bára river leaves the hills. Their settlements extend in a long wedge westwards up to the Sufaid Koh, and comprise the Khaibar valley, the Barar and Bára valleys and the plateau known as Maidan. To the north of the Khaibar Afridis come the Shinwaris with whom we have little to do, the section that inhabits the Loargi plain near Landi Kotal excepted. This section receives a subsidy from the British Government in connection with the Khaibar Pass arrangements, of which more hereafter. From the Bára river to the mouth of the Kohat Pass the hills are held by the Akakhel Afridis, while from the Kohât Pass eastwards live the Adamkhel.

Omitting the comparatively insignificant clans of the Gaduns, Utmankhel and the Mullagoris, the tribes round the Peshâwar district fall ethnologically and to some extent politically, into three main divisions: first, the Yusafzai tribes, (of whom the Gaduns for all practical purposes form a portion) from the Indus river to the Swât river; next the Mohmands from the Swât river to the Kâbul river; and lastly, the Afridis. Between the Yusafzais and Mohmands the connection, such as it is, of descent and of historical tradition, is more close than of either of the two with the Afridis. There can be little doubt that the Mohmands and Yusafzais jointly emigrated to their present settlements from the interior of Afghânistân, while there is every reason to believe that the Afridis have held the country they at present occupy from much earlier times and very probably belong to a different branch of the Afghân nation; on the other hand, internal evidence, afforded by the language, customs, and constitution of the tribes, as well as direct historical accounts, point to the conclusion that the Mohmands and Yusafzais form an offshoot of the western Afghâns of whom the main body are now known under the collective name of Duranis. It should be added that the whole of that part of the Peshâwar district, which lies north of the Kâbul river from Attock to Fort Michni, is occupied by tribes who are more or less closely connected with the independent Yusafzais by descent or association. The section of the Yusafzais holding the Yusafzai sub-division of Peshâwar is allied to the clans in the *tahsils* of Hashtnagar, Doâba and Daudzai; a portion of the Mohmands too is settled in the south-western corner of the Peshâwar *tahsîl* in immediate contact with the Afridis. The relations between the British and independent Yusafzai are however much closer and more intimate than between the hill Mohmands and those in the Peshâwar district, and the footing on which the Yusafzai settled in British territory stand towards their neighbours in the hills has had an important bearing on the management of that part of the border, and on its history.

Chapter V, B.
Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

It will probably be sufficient to give only a brief sketch of our relations with the frontier tribes on the Pesháwar border since annexation of the Punjab.

Turning to the Yusafzai tribes that live along the frontier line from the Indus to Swát, the chief cause of any difficulties with them since our occupation of the Pesháwar valley has been directly or indirectly due to the presence of a colony of Hindustáni fanatics in their midst.

This colony owes its rise to one of those adventurers who under the guise of spiritual leaders have so often plunged the Pesháwar valley into bloodshed and confusion, from the days of the Moghal Empire down to recent days. About the year 1823 one Sayad Ahmad Shah, a Hindústáni of Bareilly, made his appearance in Yusafzai. He was a *mulla* by profession and had proceeded to Mecca in his youth. There is no doubt that during his residence in Arabia he adopted the tenets of the Wahabi sect, which he endeavoured to enforce to extend in afterlife, whenever a safe opportunity to do so offered itself. About the time of his return from Mecca the influence of the Sikhs over the Pesháwar valley had commenced to exert itself, and it appeared likely that Muhammadan rule in the valley would give way before the armies of Ranjit Singh. There was naturally considerable excitement among the Muhammadans in consequence. Syad Ahmad took advantage of the state of affairs to arrive on the scene with about 400 followers whom he had recruited among the Muhammadans of Bengal and Hindustán. He came in time to raise the spirits of the Yusafzais which had been lowered by a crushing defeat they had received from Ranjit Singh at the battle of Nowshera. Sayad Ahmad raised the standard of a *Jehád*. Animated by a spirit of fanaticism and the desire of freeing Pesháwar from the Sikh oppressors, numerous bands of ill-disciplined levies drawn from the people of the country were soon at his disposal. A nucleus of reliable disciples was at the same time formed in his body of Hindústáni followers who were soon increased by recruits till they numbered 900 men. In addition the Syaad received support, both open and secret, from the Barakzai rulers of the Pesháwar valley who had been reduced to the position of tributary governors by the Sikhs. In 1827, Syad Ahmad made his first attempt to expel the Sikhs, but was defeated owing to the treachery of the Barakzai Sirdars. He fled to Swát, proceeded thence to Buner, and ultimately took up his residence at Panjtar, the stronghold of the Khudukhel chief, Fatteh Khán. In 1828 he had extended his power over the whole country north of the Kábul river. In 1829 he successfully occupied Pesháwar. His career, however, now came to a close. Unwise in the hour of victory he endeavoured to introduce Wahabi practices. He enforced the Muhammadan law with much rigour, and interfered with the national Pathán customs to which the people clung with tenacity, opposed although they might be to the precepts of Islám. His following of Hindústánis who were scattered over the country in small detachments had also made themselves objectionable by acts of oppression and by assuming the airs of a body of conquerors. It is probable that the disgust and dislike with which the Pathán in the Pesháwar valley came to view their deli-

Frontier administration.

vərers was much owing to the fact that they feared they had only exchanged masters, and that Sayad Ahmad would take the place of the Sikhs and endeavour to found a government based upon his band of Hindústáni, and consequently alien, fanatics. So long as the Sayad was instrumental in freeing them from the Sikhs the sympathies of the Afgháns were with him. As soon as the enemy had retired for a time the instinctive hatred of the Afgháns to the foreigner turned itself against Sayad Ahmad. Fatteh Khán, also, who had raised himself to a foremost position among the Yusafzai Kháns by means of the Sayad, was now desirous of getting rid of him. A kind of Sicilian Vespers was accordingly arranged, and at a given signal—the beacon fire on the brow of the Karamar cliff, which stands out boldly over the Yusafzai plain,—every Hindústáni throughout the valley was murdered whereverfound. The Sayad, who at the time was in Panjtar with a small but compact band of followers, escaped cis-Indus. After wandering about the Hazára hills he was eventually attacked by the Sikhs at Bálakot. He himself was killed and his band was almost annihilated. The remnant fled to the Utmanzai village of Sitana. The village had been made over by the Utmanzai as a religious grant to a family of Sayads, whose head at the time was one Akbar Shah. He had served as treasurer and councillor to Sayad Ahmad, and on this account he willingly allowed the Hindústáni fugitives to gather round him. Here they settled and established a fort, the garrison of which received accessions from fanatics in Hindústán and Bengal. A regular system of forwarding stations was established which formed a chain of communication between the colony and its supporters, and men and money were forwarded from the depôts of India to Sitana by means of regular postal services.

Led by a spirit of fanaticism, the colony of Sitana took an active share in any disturbance that occurred in their neighbourhood on the Hazára and Pesháwar borders. The first occasion of our coming into collision with the Wahábis occurred in 1853, after an expedition against the Hassanzai, on account of the murder of two officers of the Salt Department. The Hindústáni fanatics co-operated with the Hassanzai, and accordingly, in January 1853, a small force crossed the Indus and destroyed the Hindústáni fort of Kotla. In 1857 this part of the border did not escape the contagion of the Mutiny. There were slight disturbances with the Khudukhel, led by their chief Mukarrab Khán. One or two British villages also proved refractory, and eventually an attack upon a British Officer by Mukarrab Khán, aided by a contingent of Hindústánis, led to a regular expedition directed against them. In 1858 the Khudukhel country was traversed by a British force which met but little opposition. The strongholds of Mukarrab Khán were burnt and a fort of the Hindústánis at Mangaltana, near the crest of the Mahaban Range, was destroyed. Another column moved on Sitana itself. The Wahabis were defeated with much slaughter, and the Utmanzai and Gaduns were compelled to sign an agreement not to admit the Hindústánis into their limits, and to resist any other tribe that might endeavour to re-instate them in

Chapter V, B. Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

their former position. The Wahabis then settled at Malka, a village in Amazai territory on the northern slopes of the Mahaban.

During the autumn of 1862 and the ensuing cold weather they again commenced to give trouble, and a detachment in 1863 re-occupied Sitana, the Gaduns and tribes of the neighbourhood generally, giving them covert assistance. The time had arrived when it became absolutely necessary again to have recourse to military operations, as the excitement among the tribes was spreading on both sides of the Indus, and delay in effectually ridding the Frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance,—the Hindústáni fanatics—might have encouraged other tribes to action, and possibly the opportunity might have been lost for putting an end to the persistent irritation on the Border. It was determined to settle the matter once for all by proceeding to attack the Wababis in such a manner as to cut off their line of retreat towards the north, for which purpose it was decided that a *British* force should proceed from the Chamla valley to the north of Malka. On the 9th of October, 1863, the troops started with this object from British Yusafzai. In proceeding to occupy the Ambeyla Pass, which just skirting the limits of the Bunérwals leads into the Chamla valley and so on to Malka, an unavoidable delay which occurred at the crest of the pass gave the clansmen time to collect. An impression, fostered by the enemies of the British Government within and without the border, had got abroad that the British intended to occupy Bunér and thence march into Swát; and soon a formidable number of fighting men collected from far and near, under the leadership of their chiefs and *maliks* to resist the progress of the troops. The pressure of public opinion was such that the Akhund of Swát, (of whom a short account will be found below,) was obliged against his better inclination to lend his influence in support of the opposition. The conflict assumed large dimensions. Tribesmen from the furthermost settlements of the Yusafzais made their appearance at Ambeyla, and the expedition eventually resolved itself into a determined struggle between the British on the one hand and the independent Yusafzais on the other, among whom, as was natural from their proximity to the scene of action, the men of Bunér, the Mahaban, and Swát bore the principal part. From 15,000 to 20,000 fighting men were collected, and for six weeks the British troops were fully occupied in holding their own on the crest of the pass. At the same time the Utmankhel in British territory became restless, and the Mohmands seized the occasion to attack the Peshâwar district in force. Eventually the coalition of the Yusafzai tribes was broken up after severe and continuous fighting, in which a large number of the Hindústánis themselves were killed. In time the tribes became disheartened, the combination broke up; and on the 17th of December, their allies having been defeated or having left the field of their own accord, tired of the contest, the Bunerwals submitted. They agreed to dismiss the fighting men of all kinds collected round the Ambeyla Pass; to send a party to destroy Malka, which would be accompanied by British Officers and such escort as might be considered necessary; and to expel the Hindústánis from the territories of the Bunér,

Frontier administration.

Chamla, and Amazai tribes. Their engagements were carried out, and on the 22nd of December Malka was destroyed.

It appears that the greater part of the Hindústáni fanatics then fled into the Chigharzai country. Their position, however, was by no means comfortable. The people amongst whom they dwelt made them pay dearly for the protection afforded them and for the supplies they received. They commenced to mix themselves up with local factions, and in February 1868 about 400 or 500 of their fighting men marched to Bunér in support of the party opposed to the Akhund of Swát. This move was fatal to them. At a distance they might have been tolerated by the orthodox party, and in time possibly have regained their prestige; but now the Akhund lost not a moment in exerting all his influence to get rid of what he well knew would be a fruitful source of trouble to him. The leader of the party in Bunér, to whose assistance the Hindústánis had come, was assassinated, and the fanatics, thus deprived of local support, were immediately ordered to leave Bunér. In their retreat large numbers of the fugitives were killed by the Bunérwals; the remainder fled to the Chigharzai. The power of the Akhund was naturally increased by his complete triumph over the rival faction in Bunér, and the Chigharzai by his order expelled the Wahabis. For a time they wandered about in the hills on both banks of the Indus to the north of the Black Mountain. At last they threw themselves on the mercy of the Hassanzai, who allotted them some land near the village of Palosi, which is on the right bank of the Indus, from 15 to 20 miles north of Darband. They now reside there. Their settlement consists of a mud fort surrounded by houses. They still receive money and recruits from Hindústán; but warned by their reverses they have since their location at Palosi carefully abstained from interfering with tribal factions, or from opposing the party of the Akhund of Swát and the orthodox generally; while their behaviour towards the British has given no further cause of complaint.

Since the Ambeyla expedition the Yusafzai tribes, as a whole, have not come into collision with the British Government again, the lesson they received at Ambeyla having been sufficient warning to them, it seems, to keep on good terms with us. But in isolated instances the misconduct of individual sections of the Yusafzai tribes has led occasionally to the rupture of our relations with them and even to minor coercive operations. Thus, taking the tribes as they come from east to west, the Gaduns gave some trouble on the Yusafzai border in 1869-70, in the form chiefly of raids and cattle robberies unattended with bloodshed. Eventually, however, they submitted in 1870 after they had been blockaded for some months, and since then they have behaved tolerably well. The Khudukhel have given no cause for complaint; the tribe is much dependent on British territory for its supplies. It is entirely open to attack from the direction of Peshâwar, and the attention of the clan has been fully occupied with a remarkable struggle that it has carried on, now for 30 years, with Mukarrab Khán, its chief

Chapter V, B. Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

It would be beyond the scope of the present note to give the details of this struggle. It is enough to say that after a series of vicissitudes Mukarrab Khán finds himself an exile at the conclusion of an internecine war which has lasted for more than a generation, in the course of which he was guilty of an unprecedented act by the slaughter of a Khudukhel *jirga* in 1873.

The men of Bunér behaved well from the date of the termination of the Ambeyla Expedition up to 1868, when in the prosecution of a private feud a party of the Ashuzai came down and burnt the village of Pirsai in the Sudhum valley in British territory. A blockade was established, and in April 1869 they came to terms, rebuilt the destroyed village, and paid a fine to the British Government. Their conduct was good till 1877, when a serious raid was committed by the Ashuzai, Daulatzai, and Nurazai sections of Bunér on the border villages of the Sudhum valley. Several of the villagers were killed, but the inhabitants of the valley rallied and severely punished the raiders, who retired with a loss of 21 killed, 30 wounded, and 14 prisoners. The raid was no doubt instigated by Ajab Khán of Chargullai, a village in Sudhum. His father, although not one of the recognized Kháns of Yusafzai, had attained the position of a chief by his force of character during the troubled times that preceded the annexation of the Punjab. His son had inherited the determined will and the bold and dangerous instincts of his father. For many years all matters connected with the Bunér frontier had more or less been managed by this Chief; but finding that as the tribes came to know us better, and as our hold over them grew more firm, his personal importance was declining, he determined to create complications on the border which would bring him into notice, as he fully expected that he would be employed in allaying the storm that he had raised, and would acquire great credit thereby. With this object he incited the Bunérwals to make an attack on the Sudhum valley. He was, for this offence, tried and sentenced to death, and was executed at Pesháwar in June 1878. There can be no doubt that this vigorous measure has produced a deep impression on the Pesháwar border. Unfortunately many of our complications with the border tribes have been due to the intrigues of those who, as British subjects and as profiting largely by the generosity of their Government, should be the first to aid that Government in its policy. The step that was taken in bringing the man to justice who had been guilty of the bloodshed of British subjects has had, elsewhere as well as near his home, an excellent effect. With regard to the Bunérwals they were blockaded, and in September 1877 the Nurazai and Daulatzai sections made their submission, and in April 1878 the Ashuzai surrendered the property they had carried off and a final settlement with the Bunérwals was effected. Since then (1883) the men of Bunér have uniformly behaved well, and have fully justified the character they bear among their neighbours, of a people who injure none by whom they are not injured; who are self-contained and satisfied with attending to their own

affairs, and, unless provoked, do not go out of their way to attack others.

Frontier administration.

Proceeding now to the remaining section of the Yusafzai country before reaching the Utmankhel, it will be sufficient to note briefly that since the days of the Mutiny, with the exception of a small complication, which will be noticed hereafter, our relations with the inhabitants of Swát, and more especially with that tract called Sam Ranizai which borders immediately on the Pesháwar district, have been fairly friendly. For the last generation the Swát valley has been under the dominant influence of the well-known spiritual leader, commonly called the Akhund of Swát. He was born about the year 1794. At an early age he was remarkable as a sober and pious lad with a decided taste for a life of religious seclusion. When he had reached the age of 18, he first learnt to read and write, and turned his attention to the rudiments of his religion. For some time he wandered about as a *tálib-ul-ilm* or religious scholar, and eventually took up his residence, about the year 1816, at a lonely spot on the bank of the Indus below the small village of Beka, and there built for himself a small hut of camel thorn. He led a life of austerity, seclusion, and meditation for a period of twelve years, during which his fame as a saint, under the name of the hermit of Beka, spread gradually throughout Eastern Afghánistan. In 1835 he joined the Amir Dost Muhammad Khán in an attack on the Sikhs, bringing with him a body of fanatical disciples. When the Amir was defeated, the Akhund fled to Bajaur. After a time he returned to Sam Ranizai, and eventually took up his residence in the village of Saidu in the Swát valley. There he lived the life of an ascetic and religious leader, deeply venerated by the people, over whom, not only in his own valley but throughout North-Eastern Afghánistan, he gradually acquired an unbounded influence, which, to his credit it should be said, he used almost invariably for purposes that were good according to his light; inculcating truth, peace, and morality, allaying as far as he could the interminable feuds among the people, and enforcing the precepts of the Muhammadan law as far as was compatible with ineradicable Pathán customs.

The depredations of the inhabitants of Sam Ranizai, which they carried on in spite of the exhortations of the Akhund to preserve a peaceful attitude towards the British Government, led to three expeditions in the years from 1849—1852, which were directed against the villages to the south of the Malakand Pass. In their course the people of Sam Ranizai were duly chastised. But the repeated success of British operations opened the eyes of the Swát Chiefs to the possibility of a British force one day visiting their own valley, and created general alarm. In this exigency the Akhund advised that the only chance of making a stand would lie in appointing one chief to command the whole tribal forces. This proposal being agreed to, the Akhund selected Syad Akbar of Sitana, who was accordingly installed as king of Swát under the patronage of the Akhund. He set about collecting a standing army and guns, and for a few years carried on the semblance of a roughly organized government. But his

Chapter V, B. Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

power gradually declined, and when he died in 1857, it was little more than nominal. The attitude taken up by the Akhund at the crisis of the Mutiny was favourable to the British Government, and does credit alike to his sagacity and political foresight, and to his control over the natural impulse of a man in his position to incite the religious animosities of the people. He exercised all his influence in preserving order. The sepoys of the 55th Native Infantry, who, having mutinied at Hoti Mardan, had escaped from Nicholson's pursuit to Swát, were sent by him out of the valley and across the Indus. No doubt in doing so he was partly actuated by motives of fear, lest the son of the late king of Swát, with the assistance of the sepoys, might be able to gain firm power in Swát and overshadow his, the Akhund's, authority. But allowing that he had a personal object in view, it must be said that the whole tendency of his policy at the time was distinctly peaceful. During the general excitement of the Ambeyla campaign he was compelled to join the ranks of those that opposed us; but as soon as the expedition was over, he resumed his former attitude, and ever afterwards the Akhund advised the people of Swát and Bunér, and other independent tracts, to behave towards us as good neighbours, and if they offended the British Government, to meet such demands as it might make, and to comply with such terms as might be imposed. The best proof of his wise restraint of the evil spirits of Swát and Bunér is the almost total immunity, for many years previous to his death, of that portion of our border from raids and other serious offences. Towards the close of his life great pressure was put upon him to depart from the neutral position he had adopted towards the British Government. He, however, steadfastly refused to comply with the requests he received from Kábul, and up to his death in January 1877 remained firm in the attitude he had taken up many years ago towards the British. His death has been followed by a series of struggles between his elder son, commonly called the elder Mián Gul and the chief of Dir, both endeavouring to establish their supremacy in Swát at the expense of the other. At this moment, 1883-84, Mián Gul, with the aid of the chiefs of Bajáur, who are hostile to Rahmat-ulla Khán of Dir, has gained a leading position in Swát. How long he will be able to maintain it, is impossible to say, considering the ever shifting character of Afghán politics; but it may be safely predicted that the spiritual influence established by the late Akhund will be far more durable and widespread than the temporary power which his son is able to exercise chiefly by virtue of his father's name. The younger son of the Akhund, called the younger Mián Gul, lives at Saidu and follows in the footsteps of his father as an ascetic and a hermit who, at least to outward appearance, has no concern with worldly affairs.

In recent years we have had no trouble on the Swát border, except the series of annoyances which led in March 1878 to the successful surprise of the village of Skhakot by the Guides, accompanied by the late Sir Louis Cavagnari. The object of this

little expedition was fully attained, the village making an abject submission. This concludes the account of the Yusafzai tribes.

Coming now to the Utmankhel, there is little to record in respect of their relations with the British Government. They are not a powerful or influential tribe; their subsistence, at any rate that of the eastern portion, is largely gained by bringing the few products of their hills to the Peshâwar valley for sale, and by eking out the scanty livelihood which they derive from their circumscribed cultivation, with their earnings as labourers in the Peshâwar district. We came first into collision with the Utmankhel in 1852. Ajun Khân, the leading chief of the large village of Tangi, lying on the Swât river a few miles below the point where it leaves the Utmankhel hills, had risen against the new British government of the Peshâwar valley. He fled to the Utmankhel and, taking with himself a band composed of their bad characters, in April 1852, came down one night and murdered the *tahsîldâr* of Hashtnagar. The Utmankhel refused to give satisfaction and openly espoused his cause. A force visited the Utmankhel villages lying along the border and destroyed them. After that, the conduct of the whole tribe remained uniformly good, till in December 1876 a serious outrage called imperatively for active measures. Instigated by persons of influence in British territory, a gang of Utmankhel attacked some coolies who were employed on the head works of the Swât Canal near Abazai. Six coolies were killed and 27 wounded. In consequence, the Utmankhel were blockaded, but owing to the exigencies of other considerations it was not at that time possible to take more energetic steps against them. After the close of the Jowaki Expedition, however, the Utmankhel villages of Sapri and Bucha were successfully surprised in 1878 by the Guides, accompanied by Sir Louis Cavagnari. The ringleader of the raid of 1876 was killed, and full retribution was exacted from the tribe. Since then the Utmankhel have given very little cause for dissatisfaction.

South and west of the Utmankhel lives the large tribe of the Mohmands, whose settlements stretch from the Peshâwar border as far as Kunar to the north and Jalâlâbâd to the west. They differ from many other tribes that are contiguous to our frontier, in that they possess *khâns* or hereditary chiefs, drawn from families who from ancient times have supplied the leaders of the tribe. The *khâns* are appointed by the Amir of Kâbul and removable at his pleasure, enjoying from the Kâbul Government extensive *jâgîrs* situated in the Jalâlâbâd district, or Ningrahar. These chiefs are the Khân of Lalpura, who exerts influence over the eastern Mohmands and the Khân of Goshta who, less in degree and power, leads the western Mohmands. One section of the tribe, the Halimzai, receives an allowance in cash from the Amir, which is paid to them through the Khân of Lalpura. The Mohmands, therefore, are more readily amenable to the wishes of the Kâbul Government than other independent clans living along the British frontier.

Our relations with the Mohmands may roughly be divided into two periods, one of incessant hostility and conflict commenc-

Chapter V, B. Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

ing with the annexation of the Province down to 1864; and the other a period of an almost unbroken peace. It is curious to note that these periods correspond with the similar phases of our relations with the Yusafzai tribes. In fact, the Ambeyla campaign seems to have been the turning point of our relations generally with independent tribes along the Pesháwar border from the Indus to the Kábul river.

The British Government had, however, long before come in contact in the course of the first Afghán war with the Mohmand tribe, when the British forces advanced to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kábul. Saadat Khán was then in power at Lálpura. He joined the Barakzai party, and was consequently driven out, and his cousin Torabaz Khán installed in his stead. With the collapse of the Saddozai interest in 1840-41, Torabaz Khán had to give way to his rival whom, on taking over the Pesháwar valley from the Sikhs, we found as Khán of Lálpura. His feelings towards the British Government were naturally unfriendly, and for a long time he led or instigated the hostile movements of the Mohmands. Their first inroad occurred in December 1850 in an unprovoked attack on the British village of Shabkadr, organized by a son of the chief of Lálpura. Then followed a series of raids, in consequence of which in 1851 the Mohmand villages adjoining the border were destroyed, and forts were built at Michni and Shabkadr. This measure, however, did not check the marauding incursions of the Mohmands. In December 1851, a large body of this tribe under Saadat Khán came into collision with British troops at Matta near Shabkadr, and were defeated with heavy loss. Raids, however, continued; and in April 1852 a second action was fought at Matta, in which the Mohmands were again repulsed. They now dispersed and the troops returned to Pesháwar. In 1854 the Mohmands of Michni again misbehaved. Some years previously to this, it should be mentioned, the *jágírs* held by the Mohmands of independent territory in the Pesháwar valley, principally by the men of Michni, had been resumed owing to their misbehaviour, and the persistent hostilities which the Mohmands carried on for years were no doubt chiefly due to an effort on their part to worry the British Government into releasing the resumed *jágírs*. In 1854 the villages of the Michni-Mohmands were again destroyed. The scene of action was now shifted to the border inhabited by the Mohmands of Pindiáli on the right bank of the Swát river. They committed raid after raid on the Pesháwar district, and between September 1855 and July 1857 no less than 24 serious outrages were committed with the object of plunder and murder; Saadat Khán and his tribesmen hoping that the British Government would at last be compelled in despair to buy off the raiders by granting *jágírs* and concessions, especially those that had been confiscated. Arrangements for a punitive expedition on a large scale against the Mohmands were under discussion, when the Mutiny broke out.

Notwithstanding that the Mutiny gave the Mohmands an excellent opportunity of increasing their annoyances, yet they

Frontier administration.

showed no signs of profiting by it. Their raids continued, it is true; but they were not of a more formidable nature. From the beginning of September 1857 to March 1860, 39 serious outrages were committed by the Mohmands, and the question of a punitive expedition was again submitted for the consideration of the Government of India. Within five years there had been 85 raids committed by parties of an average strength of 75 men, in which 14 British subjects had been killed, 27 wounded, and 55 carried off, and over 1,200 head of cattle plundered. This was exclusive of the 40 minor raids in which 35 British subjects had been killed or wounded, and 267 head of cattle plundered. The Government refused, however, to sanction an expedition, and determined to wait and see what would be the result of resolutely declining to restore the confiscated *jágírs* of the Tarakzai—the principal cause of all these complications. In March 1860 the son of the Khán of Lálpura visited the Commissioner of Pesháwar, and after some correspondence a settlement was effected on the basis of by-gones be by-gones; that is to say, the British Government did not exact retribution for the offences committed by the Mohmands, and they on the other hand gave up all hope of recovering the confiscated *jágírs*. For the next three years there was peace on the Mohmand border, but when during the Ambeyla Expedition the emissaries of the Akhund of Swát were sent all over the hills bordering on the Pesháwar valley, they were successful in exciting disturbances among the Mohmands. Collecting all his tribesmen the son of the Khán of Lálpura, who was not well-disposed to us, came down to the border in December 1863. The garrison of Shabkadr was reinforced, and on the 3rd of January 1864 a large body of Mohmands, numbering some 5,000 men, came in collision with the British troops. They were defeated with heavy loss and the collection broke up. The Amir of Kábul then interfered actively in Mohmand matters. The Khán of Lálpura was carried off prisoner to Kábul, and a new Khán was placed in office in his stead. Thereafter the section of the Pesháwar district which borders on the settlements of the Mohmand tribe has not been disturbed up to date by any serious outrage or permanent hostility on the part of the Mohmands. Considering the conduct of the Mohmands from annexation up to 1864, and the ceaseless and persistent enmity to the British Government which they showed, it is very striking to note the almost complete peace that has prevailed after the close of the Ambeyla Campaign.

It remains to note briefly a few instances in which the good conduct of the tribe has more recently been broken by isolated offences. In 1873 Major Macdonald, then Commandant of Fort Michni, was cruelly murdered by the retainers of Bahram Khán, half brother of the Khán of Lalpura, who had been stationed at Michni to regulate the levy of tolls by the Michni men from rafts on the Kábul river. Bahram Khán himself has escaped punishment hitherto, but those of his retainers who had actually cut down Major Macdonald were seized at Dakka in 1879 and met with their well-deserved, though long delayed, punishment. The Michni Mohmands no doubt knew that some such act was being meditated

Chapter V, B.
Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

by Bahram Khán, and as they failed to give warning they were fined Rs. 10,000, which they paid without demur. In the course of the Afghán war our relations with those Mohmands who live further removed from the Pesháwar valley, more especially the Kháns of Lálpura and of Goshta, were drawn closer; but to give an account of our dealings with them during the war would be beyond the province of the present note. Suffice it to say that on three or four occasions we came into hostile collision with the Mohmands, the last being at Dakka in January 1880. On this occasion our Mohmand opponents narrowly escaped annihilation. Their defeat made a deep impression upon the tribe, and after January 1880 they gave little further trouble on the line of communications to Jalálábád. It should be added that in 1879 some Tarakzai and Halimzai Mohmands, residing on the Pesháwar border, made a determined attack on Mr. Scott, of the Survey Department, while surveying in their hills. For this offence the guilty sections were fined Rs. 2,000, which they have paid. Since the close of the Afghán war the conduct of the tribe has been good and our relations with the Mohmands have been friendly. That section of the tribe which inhabits the Shilman valleys lying between the Khaibar Pass and the Kábul river, as well as the vassal clan of the Mullagoris who inhabit the northern spurs of the Tartarra range between the eastern Khaibar and the Kábul, receives subsidies from the British Government since the late Afghán war. The Government has reserved exclusive political relations with these small sections of the Mohmand tribe, and they are thus politically dissevered from the body of the tribe. There is nothing special to note regarding the Shilmanis or the Mullagoris, except that the latter are probably a remnant of the earlier inhabitants of the Pesháwar valley, small sections of whom remained in their present habitations when the Mohmands and Yusafzai tribes overran the country between the Kábul and Kunar rivers and the Indus. Their own traditions say that the Mullagoris are a section of the former numerous, but now almost extinct, nation of the Dilazaks. However this may be, the Mullagoris are to all practical purposes a sub-section of the Mohmand tribe.

The remaining portion of the Pesháwar border marches with the settlements of the great Afridi tribes. As mentioned above, the Afridis fall into three main divisions known as the Khaibar Afridis, the Akakhel, and the Adamkhel. The two former only have been treated in the present note. The Adamkhel are under the political management of the Deputy Commissioner of Kohát, and an account of them will be more appropriately given in connection with the Kohát district.

The Khaibar Afridis and the Akakhel differ from all the other clans surrounding the Pesháwar district in this respect, that during the hot weather they retireto the cool highlands on the eastern slopes of the Sufaid Koh, where in the plateau known as Tirah they occupy extensive settlements. In the winter they descend to the hills and

Frontier administration.

valleys on the immediate border from Jamrud to the Kohát Pass; cultivating what little arable land there is; engaging as tenants with the *zamindárs* of Pesháwar; pasturing their flocks on the lower hills and grassy plains at their foot; and carrying on a large trade with the Pesháwar district in firewood, charcoal, grass, mats and ropes made of the leaf of the dwarf palm. The permanent habitations of the Khaibar Afridis and Akakhel, with a few exceptions, are in the Upper Bára valley and Tirah, and in their visits to the lower hills during winter they live practically the life of nomads.

Commencing with the Khaibar Afridis, it will be convenient to note that they are divided into the following clans—the Kukikhel, the Qambarkhel, the Malikdinkhel, Sepah, Kamrai, and the Zakhakhel. Our earliest contact with them occurred in the course of the first Afghán war, during which they fully sustained their ancient character of bold and faithless robbers, excellent fighting men in a guerilla war, but incapable of any permanent combination, or of resisting the passage of a well-handled body of troops. After the annexation of the Punjab up to the commencement of the second Afghán war, our relations with the Khaibar Afridis were of a more or less friendly character. There was never any permanent rupture with the Afridis, nor, on the other hand, could it be said that they ever abstained from marauding incursions on that part of the border which is open to their depredations, that is to say between Jamrúd and the Bára Fort, or from thieving and plundering in the Pesháwar City and Cantonments. But it is noteworthy that we have never had hitherto to deal with a general tribal combination of Afridis, and to meet them in a stand-up fight, as has been the case with the Yusafzai tribes and the Mohmands. The reason for this is probably to be found in the much more democratic constitution and restless and turbulent temperament of the Afridis, which makes a tribal coalition among them a matter of far greater difficulty than among the Mohmands or Yusafzai, who possess hereditary leaders in their respective *kháns;* and secondly, it is due in part no doubt to the fact that the Khaibar Afridis are in the winter almost entirely dependent on the Pesháwar district for their means of subsistence, and that their winter settlements in the Kajurai plain are open to an easy and rapid attack from Pesháwar. Accordingly we find that the only tribe which does not visit Kajurai or the eastern Khaibar in the winter, the Zakhakhel of the Bazar valley and Bára, were the chief robbers and plunderers in the Pesháwar district before the commencement of the second Afghán war.

When the war broke out we found among the Khaibar Afridis two parties, one of which was ready to side with us; the other made common cause with the Amir. The headmen of the friendly party were called in, and entered into engagements to maintain security and peace in the Pass and to control their tribesmen, receiving in return subsidies fixed on the scale in force during the first Afghán war under similar conditions. Owing, however, to the fact that the party in opposition possessed considerable influence among the clans, the arrangement did not work with complete success, and two expeditions to the Bazar valley were necessary to punish attacks upon the Khaibar road

Chapter V, B.

Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration

After the treaty of Gandamuk the headmen and tribesmen in opposition submitted and came in to the British officers, a fresh settlement of affairs in the Khaibar Pass being made in August 1879. New engagements were entered into and a redistribution of subsidies among the clans themselves was effected; the headmen who had been in opposition were recognized according to their influence and power in the clans. The arrangements hereafter worked smoothly; and although it was, of course, not to be expected that the instincts of the Afridis should not break out under strong temptation, yet, as a whole, the settlement come to in September 1879 proves to have in it the elements of stability and permanence. On the retirement of British troops from Afghánistan it was determined to make arrangements to keep the Pass open under the independent and exclusive charge of the tribes concerned. After protracted negotiations a complete *jirga* of all the Khaibar tribes affixed their seals to a final agreement with the British Government in February 1881, an outline of the principal terms of which is as follows:—

(1) The independence of the Afridis to be recognized, but exclusive political relations to be maintained with the British Government.

(2) The Afridis to undertake to maintain order in the Khaibar, and to guarantee the good conduct of their members, in consideration of subsidies to be paid by Government.

(3) The tribe to furnish a corps of Jezailchis for the protection of caravans through the Pass.

(4) All tolls to be taken to Government.

(5) The tribes to be jointly responsible for the engagements thus entered into and for the maintenance of peace and order in the Pass.

When these arrangements were complete and in working order, the British troops were withdrawn on the 21st of March 1881 from the positions they had held at Ali Masjid and Lundi Kotal. For the last three years the Pass has been kept open by the tribes themselves, and it is not too much to say that up to the present time the arrangements made in 1881 have proved to be completely successful; the once dreaded Khaibar Pass is now literally as safe as the Grand Trunk Road in the most orderly district of British India.

The border generally where the Khaibar Afridis fringe the line has been undisturbed, save by the two night attacks led by Kamal, the Malikdinkhel, and his gang, on the picquet of Native Cavalry at Peshâwar in June 1881. The act, with a similar raid at Kohat in September 1881, was that of individual ruffians who were actuated by motives of personal revenge. The raids were not the outcome of collective tribal ill-feeling against the British Government, nor were they directed by any desire for plunder; they were unconnected with the affairs of the Khaibar, and they in no way disturbed our general relations with the Khaibar Afridis. Still it was necessary to hold Kamal's tribesmen responsible for his deeds, and suitable fines were levied from the Malikdinkhel and Qambaikhel, members of which clans had been concerned in the attacks. The fines

were paid without difficulty, and the affairs of the Khaibar remained tranquil.

Frontier administration.

Turning now to the Akakhel, the first occasion on which we appear to have come into collision with them was in 1854, when they made a determined attack on the camp of a British Officer situated about six or seven miles from Peshâwar. The Akakhel were punished by a series of raids on their cattle, and eventually by a blockade which so reduced them that they paid a fine of Rs. 2,500 and made a complete submission. Carrying on as they do an extensive trade in wood and grass with Peshâwar, any exclusion from British territory falls on them with great severity. Since then we had little cause to complain regarding the Akakhel, till in 1881 they pulled down a Border Police tower which was in process of construction; for this they paid a fine of Rs. 2,000. In 1883 they were implicated in a daring robbery of horses committed by Kamal, the notorious Malikdinkhel outlaw. This matter is still under consideration and is not yet disposed of.

It remains to notice briefly the system of border management in Peshâwar and the measures that have been adopted for the protection of the frontier in this district, which is the largest and most important of all the frontier districts. When we took over the country from the Sikhs there could not be said to be any settled Government in Peshâwar, except in the area immediately surrounding the city and in the tracts south of the Kâbul river. Inhabited by a turbulent and fanatical population who were readily assisted by the large mass of independent clansmen in the hills round the valley, the Government of the Peshâwar district had been a task too difficult for the Sikhs to accomplish. They confined themselves to levying revenue with spasmodic severity from the inhabitants of the valley, and to preserving a semblance of order in the vicinity of the Peshâwar city, and left the more distant villages to get on as well as or as ill as they could with their neighbours in the independent hills. The latter were almost always in an attitude of open hostility against the Sikhs, and on both sides a merciless war was carried on. For convenience sake, however, a belt of semi-independent territory was interposed, and the chiefs resident in the Peshâwar valley acted as go-betweens and negotiators between the Sikhs and the men of independent territory. There appears to have been no confidence whatever between the administrators of the Peshâwar valley on the one hand and the wild and suspicious denizens of the hills on the other. Under this *régime* the system of the middlemen grew up, which at the annexation of the Punjab we found in full swing in Peshâwar. Our ignorance of the people, of their language, customs, feelings, and politics necessitated perforce a continuance of this system; nor was it to the interest of the middlemen to do anything which would lead to the extinction of their lucrative functions; and it must be added that the hill men themselves for a time preferred this arrangement, accustomed as they were to be treated by the Sikhs like the wild beasts of the field. They are more naturally slow to discover that the British Government uniformly is as good as its word. The middlemen, however, enjoyed the confidence of the independent tribes; and till they learnt to

Chapter V, B. Military and Frontier.

Frontier administration.

trust the British Government the employment of go-betweens was indispensable. In the course of time, however, the tribes, coming into contact with British officers and gaining experience of the ways of the British Government, have learnt to place trust in us; while, on the other hand, the British officers themselves have gained a more intimate acquaintance with all that pertains to the border and its people. Under these circumstances it gradually came to be recognized that a change in the system of border management was advisable and indeed required. Many of the middlemen did us excellent service. Many again abused their position for private ends, and even the best were always liable to be compromised by the acts of enemies or by the self-interested friends, relations and dependants by whom they were surrounded. In this additional link of communication between the Frontier tribes and Government, there was moreover a distinct element of weakness; and as we came to gain a firmer hold on the border tribes, direct personal relations between them and the British officers have been established with, as a rule, the best results. In the Peshâwar district all matters connected with the tribes are now conducted on the direct responsibility of, and immediately through, British officers, with the exception perhaps of the Akakhel, whose political management is still to some degree entrusted to the chief of the Mohmands settled in the Peshâwar district.

The system of management is briefly this: if any event calls for communication with a tribe, the *jirga* or representative deputation of elders is summoned to confer with the British officers. If a settlement is effected, well and good; if not, then pressure is put on the tribe by a blockade, by reprisals, or if the tribe receives a subsidy—and with the exception of the Khaibar Afridis, the Akakhel and a few Mohmands there are none such in the Peshâwar valley—by withholding the subsidy, and in the last resort by a military expedition. Of late years, however, it has become more and more rarely necessary to enforce our demands at the point of the sword. Trade between British and independent territory has greatly increased, and with the completion of the Railway to Peshâwar will continue to advance. Large numbers of the men of independent territory have come down and settled in the Peshâwar valley, and when the Swât Canal has been opened this will still more be the case. Sufficient means of livelihood therefore are being provided for the hungry inhabitants of the hills; while at the same time a sudden deprivation of the source of subsistence to which the tribes are gradually becoming accustomed, will be felt with increasing severity in independent territory. There is thus every reason to hope that under the pressure of events the Frontier tribes round the Peshâwar valley may slowly change their characteristics and become more peaceful neighbours than they have hitherto been. The state of affairs may be summed up briefly in the following sentence extracted from the Punjab Administration Report of 1882-83:—

"During the past 30 years of Frontier management, constant intercourse with British Officers, unrestrained trade with British subjects, and employment in the military and civil establishments of Government have

Frontier administration.

greatly altered the suspicious and hostile character of the border men; while the opportunities for travelling in British territory, the improved armament and organization of British forces, the lessons of the recent (Afghán) war, and the fall of two consecutive Amirs of Afghánistán, and lastly the advent of the railway to their doors, are producing among the tribes that feeling of despair of any successful resistance in the event of collision with the power and the resources of the British Empire, which is the surest guarantee for the future tranquillity of the border districts."

Although this is no doubt the case, it has not been considered advisable to relax any of the precautions necessary to protect our subjects, and in 1878 the system of employing Frontier police and militia which had worked for some years with success in the Derajat, was introduced in the Peshawar district. The militia and village levies on the frontier, from the nature of things, if well armed and willing to act, are better adapted to resist sudden raids or to follow up bands of marauders, than regular troops who move more slowly and cannot be located in sufficient force in every village on the border line; and it is clear that to put an end to petty annoyances at the hands of the hillmen with some prospect of success and at a small cost, it is necessary to encourage the martial instincts of the people and to place in their hands weapons with which they may expect to cope successfully with their independent neighbours who as a rule are well armed. A committee accordingly assembled in 1878 to consider the question of introducing a border militia in Peshawar. An excellent scheme was drawn up and received the approval of Government. It provided for a chain of posts round the whole border of the Peshawar district, to be occupied by a drilled and organized body of Government servants enrolled as a border police and militia. The garrisons of these posts it was arranged should be supported by village levies armed with comparatively superior weapons supplied by Government, and only in the last resort, if both the border police and the village levies failed to deal with the raiders, would the troops be called out. The system thus provides for a series of rallying points at which the armed villagers will collect, who, now that they have been supplied with rifles, will be little inferior in fighting qualities to the men from independent territory; and the effect of this measure is to spread as it were an irregular corps along the most exposed parts of the Frontier, which whenever necessary can be re-inforced and supported by the regular troops. The manner in which the villagers of the Sudhum valley repulsed the raid of the Bunérwals in 1877 which had been instigated by Ajab Khán, showed conclusively that our villagers in the Yusafzai sub-division were more than able to hold their own against their cousins beyond the border; and on reconsidering the proposals of the Border Defence Committee of 1878, it was determined to abandon that part of the scheme which relates to the erection of militia posts along the frontier line from the Indus to the Swát river. The remainder of the scheme embraces the border from the Swát River, round by the Kohát Pass to the end of the Jowaki hills. Portions of this scheme received the sanction of Government and were introduced in 1879. The concluding part has just (1883) been approved, and the establish-

Chapter V, C. Land and Land Revenue. Frontier administration.

ment of a special border force of the full working strength recommended by the Committee of 1878 for the line from Abazai round by the Kohát Pass to Shamshattu is now being taken in hand. The total strength of the border militia force in Pesháwar will now be 368 men. About 2,500 rifles will shortly (1883) be distributed to the villagers, and fortified posts and towers are now (1883-84) being erected wherever necessary to complete the chain of defence. The most exposed portion of the Pesháwar district will therefore be effectually protected by the measures that have been taken.

SECTION C.—LAND AND LAND REVENUE.

Settlements of land revenue.

In 1846, Colonel (now Sir) G. Lawrence arrived at Pesháwar as Assistant to the Resident at Lahore. The existing farms were continued until *rabí* 1849, during which year Colonel Lawrence was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Pesháwar, and made the first Summary Settlement. In 1850-51 the second Summary Settlement followed; it was for a period of two years: a summary *khewat* was prepared. In 1852-53 the third Summary Settlement was made, and continued in force till 1855-56. Captain (now Sir H. B.) Lumsden made his Summary Settlement of Yusafzai in 1852; it was reported in 1855. In 1855-56, Major James made his settlement,—it was proposed for a period of five years. It, however, lasted for 18 years, and was in force until the new *jamas* of the present first Regular Settlement were given out, except as regards a portion of Mardán in which the *jamas* of some villages were revised, and *tappa* Bezai, which was brought under its first Summary Settlement in 1857-58. In 1862, Ata Muhammad Khán, Extra Assistant Commissioner, commenced the revision of the Mardán settlement; he was followed by Muhammad Hyat Khán, Extra Assistant Commissioner, C.S.I. who carried on the work for nine months, during 1866. Zulfikar Ali and Colonel Dhanraj, Extra Assistant Commissioner, were appointed after him and carried on work till 1868, when operations were closed pending the Regular Settlement. The first Regular Settlement of the district was begun in 1869 under the supervision of Captain Hastings, who reported the results in 1876.

Revenue under Native rule.

A general outline of the revenue administration under former Governments has already been given in the chapters on history and tenures. The revenue history of the various portions of the district varies so greatly that it will be necessary to treat each *tahsíl* separately, which will be done at pages 191 to 201. But a general review of the land revenue of the district at various periods will be interesting. The figures in the margin

Pargana.	Land Revenue	Fees.	Total.
Mohmand ...	79,400	8,000	87,400
Khalil ...	87,580	22,750	1,10,330
Kasba (the suburbs of Pesháwar) ..	6,740	..	6,740
Doaba ..	1,02,300	25,100	1,27,400
Daudzai ..	76,870	18,235	95,105
Khalsa ...	82,200	6,340	88,540
Khattak ...	64,000	6,000	70,000
Hashtnagar ...	1,00,000		1,00,000
Yusafzai ...	..	...	...
Total ...	5,99,090	86,425	6,85,515

show the average revenue realized from the district by the Dúráni Government.

Revenue under native rule.

Certain additional items of Dúráni revenue are given as follows:—Town dues, Rs. 80,000; tax upon Hindús, Rs. 6,000; water mills, 4,000; other taxes, Rs. 2,000. By the Sikhs this revenue was considerably raised. Hari Singh realized in 1836-37 from the whole district (including Mardán) Rs. 7,17,466, or, excluding Mardán, Rs. 6,96,466. Under General Avitabile, between the years 1837 and 1841, the amount realized gradually increased up to Rs. 8,88,876, or, excluding Yusafzai, to Rs. 8,18,876; and under Tej Singh in 1842-43, to Rs. 9,98,144.* This sum may be taken as the highest revenue ever derived in one year from the district. Its detail, as shown in the margin, is given by Major James:

Sikh Revenue, 1842-43.

Pargana.	Revenue.
Mohmand ...	1,45,070
Khalil ..	1,15,500
Kasba (suburbs of Pesháwar,	41,604
Doába ...	1,22,800
Daudzai ...	1,18,170
Khalsa ...	91,100
Khattak ...	1,00,900
Hashtnagar ...	1,25,000
Mardán ...	1,38,000
Total ...	9,98,144

Revenue under British rule.

The first British Settlement effected in 1846 practically maintained the Sikh demand with an assessment of Rs. 8,35,277, exclusive of Mardán. But under the successive revisions of the second and third Summary Settlements, the assessment was reduced to Rs. 6,09,787, at which figure it stood in 1854-55. In the following year a fourth assessment, effected by Major James, came into force, and resulted in a further reduction of the total demand for the district (excluding Mardán) to Rs. 5,29,247. In the following statement the *pargana* details of Major James' assessment are shown in comparison with those of the preceding year and of the Dúráni and Sikh Governments:—

Summary and Regular British Assessments, and Sikh and Dúráni Revenue compared.

Name of Pargana.	British Assessments.		Highest Sikh Revenue (Tej Singh.)	Average Durani Revenue.
	Major James' Settlement, 1855-56	Demand for 1854-55 (Third Summary Settlement.)		
Mohmand ..	97,895	1,08,920	1,45,070	87,400
Khalil ..	58,920	89,324	1,15,500	1,10,330
Kasba (suburbs of Peshawar)	14,828	18,018	41,604	6,740
Doába ..	85,425	85,550	1,22,800	1,27,400
Daudzai ..	90,906	1,00,114	1,18,170	95,105
Khalsa ...	60 029	70,172	91,100	88,540
Khattak ...	27,209	29,763	1,00,000	70,000
Hashtnagar ...	94,035	1,07,895	1,25,000	1,00,000
Total ...	5,29,247	6,09,787	9,97,244	6,85,515

These figures exclude Mardán, the figures for which, so far as available, will be found below together with those for the Regular Settlement.

Tahsil Peshawar. Fiscal history.

The average Dúráni *jama* for the Peshawar *tahsil*, including fees, was Rs. 2,04,470, and the average of six year's Sikh *jamas*

* Major James says 9,96,944; but his items, as shown in the text above, give the total of 9,98,144.

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Tahsil Peshawar. Fiscal history.

from 1836-37 to 1842-43 was Rs, 2,58,319. Each year's *jama* on which the average has been struck will be found in the following statement:

	A. D. 1836-37.	A. D. 1837-38	A. D. 1838-39.	A. D. 1839-40.	A. D. 1840-41	A. D. 1842-43.	Average.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs.
Peshawar *tahsil* ...	2,39,236	2,29,990	2,24,957	2,86,572	2,66,645	3,02,174	2,58,319
	Hari Singh.	General Avitabile.				Teja Singh.	

The district was annexed in Sambat 1906 (A. D. 1848-49). At that time the *jama* of the Peshawar *tahsil* was Rs. 3,22,905 including *jágírs*, the revenues of which in many cases were nominal. This demand was based upon an estimate of the value of half the produce; enquiries show price current per rupee for the four main crops of this *tahsil* to have been as shown in the margin. The system in force during the Sikh and Dúrání time was to farm villages to influential men of the Khalil and Mohmand tribe, or to let to Hindu capitalists known as *kárdárs*. Under this state of affairs the only profit to proprietors was from such portions of their lands as were exempt from payment, and styled *inám*. Those who had no *ináms* were in the same position as tenants; in some cases the *ináms* were enjoyed by the whole brotherhood, in others only by some of the proprietors. Under the former arrangement there was no defined land, a reduction of a certain share of the produce was the *inám*; but under the latter, where *ináms* were enjoyed only by certain families among the proprietary body, there are separate defined lands. The first Summary Settlement was made by Colonel Lawrence in Sambat 1907 (1850); he lowered the demand to Rs. 2,88,740. In the following year Sambat 1908 (1851) the demand was lowered to Rs. 2,80,468, and this again was reduced the next year, Sambat 1909 (1852), to Rs. 2,71,390. The *jamas* were recovered on the farming system, and were, to judge from the reductions, heavy and more than could be paid. After them followed the fouth Summary Settlement in Sambat 1912 (1855) by Major James; it was intended to last for a term of five years only, but has lasted till the present settlement. The revenue fixed was Rs. 2,28,014, a reduction of Rs.31-9-9 per cent. on the Sikh *jama* of Sambat 1906 (1849); this included the old *jágír* revenue of Rs. 51,309, which was not altered in any way by Colonel Lawrence or Major James; a great deal of it was nominal revenue and irrecoverable. The *jama* of the revenue-paying land was founded on Major James' personal knowledge of the district, and the average of the previous demands of the Dúránís and Sikhs. The Settlement was made generally with the proprietors; there were six villages in farm, all to influential men who could afford to pay higher *jamas* than the proprietors, owing to their being able to obtain, through their position and influence, a good supply of water; in none of the villages was any percentage allowed to the proprietors, and they also paid the cesses. The *jamas*

	Seers.
Cotton ...	6
Maize ...	58½
Wheat ...	39
Barley ...	25½

Tahsíl Peshawar. Fiscal history.

of these villages did not afford a fair criterion of what the villages should pay, and reductions had to be made at the Regular Settlement. In some villages the tenants engaged for the lands under their cultivation, and paid nothing but the Government demand. In one village, the engagements were taken up altogether by tenants. There were no *taluqdari* tenures, and it was after the last Summary Settlement that Garhi Sikandar, the only *taluqdari* village, assumed that tenure. Most of the villages in this *tahsíl* have large areas; the villages with the largest area is Azakhel (23,099 acres), assessed at Rs. 4,018; there are 20 villages with areas of 1,000 acres and over. Since the Regular Settlement farms have ceased; all the villages are engaged for by the proprietors; and the tenants all pay some rent. The proprietary classes are generally Khalíls and Mohmands. Among the Khalíls there is a good deal of tenant cultivation; the properties are large and owned by a few proprietors. In Mohmand, where the population is denser, proprietary cultivation predominates, and the *tappa* is, as regards cultivation, in a more advanced and flourishing state. There are also some Hindki proprietors, a term applied to all who are not Patháns; the class includes Awáns, Baghwans, Arains, &c. They chiefly hold land in the Qasbah, they but there are four villages in Khalíl and three in Mohmand of which they have been considered the proprietors. It is unusual to find a Khalíl or Mohmand of good family, even if only connected with a *málik*, cultivating himself; his manured land *(bari)* near the village site, if he has any, is cultivated by his *charikar* or farm servant, and the outlying land is occupied by tenants who give half the produce. The rise in prices of agricultural produce, the inducement to extended cultivation, which peace and our rule have brought, the large cantonment creating a constant demand, 25 per cent. (the *jágír* revenue) never having been attempted to be recovered, and the exemptions under *ináms* held by most of the proprietary body, will account for the former assessment based upon the old demands at half produce, not having broken down; though there was difficulty at times in the regular recovery of the revenue, owing to improvidence of the proprietors, bad crops, result of short water-supply, and in some cases, because the assessments were heavy. Only 7 per cent. of the cultivation is mortgaged, while one per cent. has been permanently alienated.

Tahsíl Nowshera. Fiscal history.

The average revenue, including fees realized by the Dúránís from Nowshera *tahsíl*, was Rs. 1,58,540, The average of the Sikh *jamas* for six years, from 1836-37 to 1842-43, was Rs. 1,74,667. The yearly *jamas* will be found in the following statement:—

Name of Tahsíl.	A. D. 1836-37.	A. D. 1837-38.	A. D. 1838-39	A. D. 1839-40	A. D. 1840-41.	A. D. 1842-43	Average.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Nowshera ...	1,59,880	1,61,748	1,50,800	1,94,161	1,90,329	1,91,100	1,74,667
	Hari Singh.	General Avitable.				Tej Singh.	

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Tahsil Nowshera. Fiscal History.

In *parganah* Khalsa, the revenue was usually collected through Hindu farmers; Darbara Singh was the chief one; he died only a few years ago. In *parganah* Khattak, prior to the Sikh rule, the country was in possession of the *kháns* of the tribe; they used to take one-fourth of the produce and a cash rent on wells. After Ranjit Singh's conquest the portion now paying the revenue to Government was confiscated, and the *kháns* received the hill portion only in *jágír*; the resumed portion was farmed out to cultivators. *Ináms* of land exist in this *tappa*, but they are not of the same kind or to the same extent as in Khalíl and Mohmand; the families who hold them are leading ones; they were useful to the *kárdárs* in collecting the revenue, and this is probably their origin. In *Chakla* Kohi the *lambardárs* enjoyed cash *ináms*, which they collected from the proprietary body with the *jamas*. The first Summary Settlement was made by Colonel Lawrence in 1849; he fixed the demand at Rs. 1,29,967; in the following year, 1850, the demand was lowered to Rs. 1,17,538, and this again was reduced in 1851 to Rs. 1,08,890. In 1855, Major James made his Summary Settlement, fixing the demand at Rs. 1,06,245, a reduction of Rs. 35-9-2 per cent. on the Sikh *jama* of 1849. Of this sum Rs. 91,089 were *khálsa*, and Rs. 12,156 *jágír*. The *jama* was, as in other *tahsíls*, based on the average of the previous demands, *i.e.*, half produce of irrigated, quarter of *báráni* land, a cash rent from wells, and Major James' personal knowledge. At annexation the assessments were generally made with those who were considered the proprietors. Five villages in *parganah* Khalsa *chak* Abi, were engaged for by tenants and *jagirdars*. Forty-one, villages were considered the property of Hindkis; thirty-five of these are in *parganah* Khalsa and in *parganah* Khattak. The Hindkis represent the following classes:—Khands, Awáns, Khattaks, Janjuahs, Malyars, Tarkhans, &c. The Khands are the most powerful class: they hold wholly, or in part, eleven villages, and next to them come the Awáns. In the villages of Azakhel Bala and Payan Garhi Wazir, Chauk Mamrez, Pabbi, Nowshera Khurd, Jahangira, Tordher, and Kush Mukum, there are some Hindki proprietors, but they are in the minority; the larger number of proprietors in these villages are Pathán. The remaining villages are owned by Pathán, Khattaks, Urmurs and miscellaneous classes. There is no village with a *taluqdari* tenure, and there was only one village, Garhi Rano, which was in farm. Cash rents are not usual; a share of the produce is almost always taken. The Hindki proprietors, with the exception of the very leading men, cultivate themselve; as a rule they are good cultivators, and take more trouble than Pathán, Khattaks and Urmurs, the most hard-working among whom are Khattaks,—all three classes cultivate themselves. The villages held by the Hindkis, mostly situated in Khalsa *parganah*, are irrigated land, and fully assessed. Three per cent. of the cultivation has been sold, and as much more mortgaged. The recovery of the revenue was attended with difficulty; the reasons as regards some of the Khalsa irrigated villages were. (1) heavy *jamas*; (2) short water-supply (owing to the Dág *band* or dam being often carried away); (3) situation for water receipt *páin* (low down); (4) *kists* falling due

so long after the value of green food* has been received; and (5) extravagant habits, contracted owing to close proximity to the city. As regards the Urmur villages, because they were over-assessed. Their land is altogether dependent on rain, and the proprietors are not good agriculturists; they give up more of their time to trade than agriculture. In other villages difficulty is experienced after dry years; very large areas are altogether dependent on rain.

Tahsil Daudzai. Fiscal history.

The average Durani *jamas* for Daudzai were Rs. 76,870, besides which there were fees to the amount of Rs. 18,235 collected, making a total of Rs. 95,105.

The average Sikh *jamas* for six years, from 1836-37 to 1842-43 were as below:—

Name of *Tahsil*.	A. D. 1836-37.	A. D. 1837-38.	A. D 1838-39.	A D. 1839-40.	A. D 1840-41	A D. 1842-43.
Daudzai ...	Rs. 86,596	Rs. 81,740	Rs 98,800	Rs. 99,570	Rs 98,480	Rs. 1,18,170
	Hari Singh.	General Avitabile.				Tej Singh.

The average for six years is Rs. 93,891, slightly above the *jama* of 1872, which was Rs. 92,010, a very great difference from the *jama* of A. D. 1848-49 which appears to have been Rs. 1,33,648 including *jágirs*. The demand was, as elsewhere, based upon an estimate of the value of half the produce. The Sikhs collected the revenue direct; at the time of annexation there were 84 Khalsa villages in Daudzai yielding to Government an annual sum of Rs. 1,27,820. The proprietors' profits were from *ináms*, somewhat similar to those found to exist in Khalíl and Mohmand; the leading members of the family in many cases engaged at the last Summary Settlement for the whole revenue-paying land, and their younger and less influential relatives were left in enjoyment of nothing except a small share of land *inám*.

There have been four Summary Settlments; the *jamas* fixed and the percentage of reduction will be seen from the following statement:—

A. D. 1849.	First Summary 1850.	Second Summary 1851.	Third Summary 1852	Fourth Summary 1855.	Percentage of reduction on Sikh *jamas*.
1,33,648	1,15,411	1,11,297	1,07,442	96,573	27-11-1.

Major James appears to have thought the *tahsíl* a poor one, which it most probably was at that time. He writes: "It is for the "most part very very poor, the soil being impregnated with salt, and "with the exception of a few villages situated near the river, the "villages are small with a scanty impoverished population. It pro-"duces nothing but the most ordinary crops. A great many Hindkis "have settled in the *pargana*, the most flourishing part of which owes "its fertility to Zardad Khan, who excavated the canal which bears

* *Khasil* is a very valuable produce in all villages near the city and cantonment.

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Tahsíl Daudzai. Fiscal history.

his name." This is, except as regards the soil being impregnated with salt, an incorrect description of the present state of the *tahsíl*.

The general tenure is that of proprietors holding their own land and engaging for the Government revenue. In Garhi Ali Muhammad, Zakhi and Bhattian, the tenure of superior and inferior proprietors existed. In no villages were the engagements taken up altogether by tenants, but there are tenants in many villages, Deh Faqir, Pajag Choli, Kalmah, &c., who paid nothing besides the Government demand. The village of Akarpura, much over-assessed, was held *khám-tahsíl*. Dalazák in the Shahi Mehal *chakla* was in farm. In the village of Bhattian the proprietors who took up the engagement at Settlement were found to have sublet one-third to Hindki residents; they have since by agreement been declared inferior proprietors. In Isakhel and Garhi Karimdad, the engagements made with all the proprietors were in the hands of the *lambardárs* and they used to take half produce from all and pay the Government demand. The Michni Mohmands paid a *nazaraná* only. The villages held by Patháns were, as a rule, lightly assessed; they also enjoyed *ináms*; those held by Hindkis were fully assessed. The proprietors, with the exception perhaps of some of the leading men, cultivate themselves. The *jamas* fixed were paid without any difficulty, and as the rise in prices had been great, as elsewhere, a rise in the *jama* was to be expected. Of the cultivated area the proportion mortgaged varied in the various circles from 7 to 23 per cent. In *chakla* Michni the gambling habits of the proprietors will account for the large percentage mortgaged, which is as high as 23 per cent. The land is not mortgaged to Hindus or outsiders; it is usually taken by one of the proprietary body, so that it may fairly be presumed the revenue has nothing to say to its being mortgaged.

Tahsíl Doába. Fiscal history.

The average revenue realized by the Dúránís from Doába including fees was Rs. 1,27,400. The average of the Sikh *jamas* for six years, from 1836-37 to 1842-43, was Rs. 1,21,656. The *jama* for each year is given below:

Name of *tahsil*.	A. D. 1836-37.	A. D. 1837-38.	A. D. 1838-39.	A. D. 1839-40.	A. D. 1840-41.	A. D. 1841-42.	Average.
Doába ...	Rs. 1,10,654	Rs. 1,10,250	Rs. 1,09,830	Rs. 1,37,984	Rs 1,38,422	Rs. 1,22,800	Rs. 1,21,656

Major James writes about this *tahsil* as follows:—

"The district lies between the Kábul and Swát rivers, and with the exception of a strip of *maira* under the hills, is well watered by canals from both streams. The villages are for the most part thriving and the country better wooded than other parts. The district was partly in *jágir* to the Barakzai *sardars* and under the Sikhs was highly taxed, the local authorities and the *sardars* extorting as much as they could. From these causes many of the villages were rapidly going to ruin, and the inroad of the hill Mohmands in 1851-52 was another great evil to the people. After deducting the *habubát*," the Sikh assessment of the *parganah*, which contains 47 *khalsa* villages, was Rs. 1,08,000.* In my first Summary Settlement the *jamas*

* According to vernacular papers Rs. 1,12,185.

were reduced to Rs. 91,335,* and the subsequent revisions to Rs. 80,250, 82,475 and 85,550† for the years 1909, 1910 and 1911 respectively, the highest amount for the period being Rs. 22,450‡ below the Sikh revenue. The relief thus afforded has been very great, and the district has obtained a high state of prosperity. Thepeople are industrious and quiet, and readily engaged for their lands. I might perhaps have proposed a higher revenue, but the conduct of the people has been so orderly that I was not inclined to make their industry and regularity in the payment of revenue the ground for increasing demands. It is fixed at Rs. 85,425.§"

Major James gave a reduction of Rs. 23-3-3 per cent. on the original Sikh *jama* and, to judge from what he wrote, he considered the then proposed *jama* a light one. From Major James' remarks, the rise in the value of produce, the fact that the revenue had been regularly recovered without difficulty, and the small percentages of land sold (1 per cent.) and mortgaged (4 per cent.), it was fair *primâ facie* to presume that a large increase to the revenue might be anticipated at the Regular Settlement. Against this presumption there were the following facts: The proprietors generally had benefitted very little from the light settlement; they were much in debt, very few of these debts were covered by land mortgages, because land was not considered good security in Doába, a *tahsíl* always under the Dúránís. Even in the Sikh time it was granted in *jágír* to *sardar* Pir Muhammad Khán. They were as exacting masters as could be found, and in their dealings with the people united the functions of a ruler and *jágírdar*; they ousted proprietors from portions of property and in their places located whomsoever they liked; their great object was to get as much as they could out of the *jágír* over which they were lords and masters. The result was, at the Summary Settlement, proprietary right was all but extinguished; the proprietors were very poor, and it was probably on this account thought advisable to allow those in possession to engage for the revenue. The result is that *khewati* tenants (56 per cent. in proportion to proprietors) preponderate, and as they had paid nothing but the Government demand since the Summary Settlement, and in many cases shared the proceeds in common land and property in proportion to their respective holdings, the profits which were to be made out of the land by Major James' light assessment have not benefitted the proprietors. These latter have only been in possession of a small portion of their property; this gave them but little, with which, however, if they had been content, instead of, Pathán-like, trying to live as expensively as their kinsmen in other *tahsíls* who really could afford to do so and be hospitable, the debts contracted under the hard rule of the Dúránís, would have been cleared off, instead of being, as they now are probably, increased. The percentage of area under *khewatis* was 26 per cent., under tenants (not *khewatis*) 39 per cent., and under proprietors 35 per cent.; this accounts for the small percentage of land mortgaged and sold.

---

* According to vernacular papers Rs. 1,05,957.

† According to the vernacular papers Rs. 83,421 for each of those years.

‡ Rs 28,764 according to vernacular returns.

§ According to vernacular returns Rs. 86,152.

Chapter V, C.
Land and Land Revenue.
Tahsíl Doába.
Fiscal history.

The settlement was made with proprietors and known tenants as *khewatis*, who paid on the same scale as proprietors. There were only 18 villages engaged for by proprietors, and 32 villages in which both proprietors and tenants took up the liabilities. There were only two villages in which *taluqdari* tenure existed, Mirzai and Atakai; in the former the right at the rate of 10 per cent, has been recovered since 1855; in Atakai its recovery at 10 per cent. was ordered to come into effect at the present Settlement. There was no village in farm or sublet. The tribe of Afgháns to whom Doába was apportioned were the Gigianis; they represent the largest proportion of the present proprietary body, and are not unlike their other Afghán brothers as regards want of industry and extravagance, which latter is somewhat forced upon them owing to the customs of the country. The *khewati* tenants are generally hardworking agriculturists. In this *tahsíl* a great deal of manure has to be used, owing to the exhausting description of crops usually grown.

Tahsíl Hashtnagar.
Fiscal history.

Major James writes regarding this *tahsíl* as follows:—

"This district, so called from eight large villages of which it was formerly composed, and from which the remainder have subsequently sprung, is situated to the east of the Swát river, and adjoins the *parganah* of Mardán. By far the greatest portion of the land is unirrigated *maira*, which in favourable seasons is extensively cultivated. In the time of the Dúráni kings it was held in *jágir* by the Ali Ghel Kháns, and subsequently by Yar Muhammad Khán, Dúráni. When Ranjít Singh annexed Pesháwar he made over the Hashtnagar district to Sayad Muhammad Khán, and the Sikhs never collected its revenues. The *jaqir* was valued at Rs. 1,50,000 including fees; after annexation it was farmed in Sambat 1906 for Rs. 1,39,173.* In the following year Abdul Haq, Extra Assistant Commissioner, made a Summary Settlement, confirming the former leases with *the deduction only of extra fees*. Some villages have since been transferred, but the *parganah*, as it now stands, was assessed in that year, Sambat 1907, at Rs. 1,21,950. In the following year I reviseed the Settlement for three years and reported my proceedings to the late Board of Administration in April 1851. The *jama* then proposed, deducting that of two villages, Kheshgi and Nowshera† since transferred to the Khalsa *tappa*, was Rs. 1,07,895. The Board, in confirming the Settlement, expressed an opinion that sufficient reduction had not been given, and circumstances have since happened which render further reduction necessary. In the year following the settlement, Ajun Khán of Tangi fled to Swát in the vain hope of coercing us to grant him a *jágír*; some *malliks* followed his example, and a short time afterwards in April 1852, he made a midnight assault on the *tahsíl* of Charsadda and murdered the *tahsíldar* and several of the establishment. He received lands in *jágír* from the Sayad of Swát, and commenced a series of raids on our frontier, inciting *malliks* from Hashtnagar to join him, which tended to keep up a spirit of inquietude in our villages, and seriously to disturb the arrangements of the late Settlement. The villages were at that time mostly in the hands of the *malliks*, to whom the proprietors paid half the produce of their lands; the flight of the

* According to the vernacular records Rs. 1,47,569.

† *Quistbandi jama.* *Fixed jama.*

Kheshgi	... 3,897	Rs. 4,700
Nowshera	... 4,680	„ 6,000

former, therefore, threw the communities to which they belonged into disorder, which was checked by the expedition against the Usmankhel and Ranizai tribes under Sir Colin Campbell. Since that Ajun Khán's attempts to disturb the villages have failed; he has been joind by none of the *malliks*, and is himself now in great difficulties. There have been two great floods since the Settlement which caused great injury to Hashtnagar, several of the villages having been nearly washed away, and to the above calamities must be added the great mortality caused by an epidemic in 1852-53. The balances in years passed have been very great, and in order to place the Hashtnagar villages on an equality with other districts, where reductions have been liberally made, I have proposed an assessment of Rs. 94,035. The deterioration of most of the villages was partial, and they will recover. It may be expected that at the expiration of the present Settlement the assessment may be raised to the former amount."

Major James' reduction on the original Sikh *jama* was Rs. 33-14-2 per cent. He evidently considered the *jama* fixed at that time light, and one which could be raised. The *jamas* appear to have been regularly paid up to the Regular Settlement; reductions were allowed for certain villages in consequence of damages caused by floods; they have to a great extent recovered since then. Any village with a large proportion of *sailábi* area will always require careful watching, and any day reductions may be necessary. The percentage of land mortgaged in the *tahsíl* is 1 per cent. on total area, and 2 per cent. on cultivated area; the land sold is not 1 per cent. Up to the Regular Settlement, the assessment had been distributed on the irrigated land. The *maira* is enjoyed free, and it is held chiefly by the leading men; they have founded small *bandas* (hamlets) generally occupied by hill Mohmand tenants of independent territory, who cultivate the land and pay one-fourth, one-fifth, and one-sixth shares. The villages owned by Hindkis in *chakla* Sholgira were fully assessed; from them no rise could be expected. The rise fairly to be expected, owing to increased cultivation, must come from the *maira* land, which had been heretofore free of *bach*, but had helped to pay the assessment which on the Sholgira alone fell heavy. The usual tenure is that of proprietors holding and engaging for their own property; in some few cases the engagements were made with the tenants in possession; they only paid the Government demand. There is no *taluqdari* tenure. The villages composing the Sholgira *chakla* were the first founded hamlets of the eight large villages; the Hindki occupants have been considered proprietors since the last Settlement.

Tahsíl Mardán. Fiscal history.

For this *tahsíl*, regarding the system of recovering the *jamas* during the Sikh rule, Captain Lumsden* reported:—

"The only traces of Government influence in the country were a claim against each *khán* of a *tappa* or sub-division for Rs. 10,000 per annum; so long as this was paid together with a good *nazarána* to the governor of Peshawar, the Sikhs cared not what became of people in a country which they never entered except in great force. The *kháns* were of course powerful men; without it they could not have taken up the responsibilities of these farms; it was in their power to take the Government demand from all, and they probably did, except in the case of some near relations or powerful men

* Now Sir H. B. Lumsden.

Chapter V, C. Land and Land Revenue. *Tahsil* Mardán. Fiscal history.

of the tribe with whom it was advisable to be on good terms. There is no *inám* similar to that claimed and enjoyed by the proprietors in *tahsils* Pesháwar and Daudzai; in Mardán it is only claimed by *kháns*, *khán báwajah-i-khels*, and *lambardárs*; the proprietary body own revenue-paying land and lay no claim to "*inám-bawajah-daftariat*." The share of revenue taken from proprietor and cultivator, in payment of the Government demand, seems to have been equal; the tenants were of course liable to service which was, in many cases, all the rent or profits received by the proprietors."

The Summary Settlement of Mardán was reported on by Sir H. B. Lumsden, at that time Captain Lumsden, in 1855. The first revenue recovered by him was in 1847. He writes:—

"As the season was far advanced before I entered on the Settlement and the crop half cut, it became an object of importance to come to a speedy understanding with the *kháns* as to the mode of collecting the revenue, and to set them to work at once, so as to obviate the necessity of sending troops to enforce the Government claim. Returns were prepared of the number of wells and ploughs in each village (excluding all rent-free lands), and one lakh of rupees (the amount hitherto paid into the Government treasury) was divided, by the consent of the *kháns*, over the whole; taking irrigated lands at double the rate of unirrigated, the result was a uniform rate of Rs. 5 a plough, and Rs. 10 a well throughout the country."

This was in 1847; owing to the Sikh outbreak in 1848, a revision was prevented till the cold season of 1850-51, when it was considered that rates were light in comparison with other portions of the Pesháwar district, and the system of allowing the *kháns* to collect their allowances in excess of the Government demand was found to have been abused. The rates were raised from Rs. 5 to 6½ per plough, and the wells to Rs. 11 each per harvest; a considerable addition would have been realized had it not been for the drying up of some 400 wells, which left the total revenue much about what it was before. Eventually the *jama* for 1852 was fixed on the average of five years' collections, the amounts of which, as well as the *jama* fixed by Captain Lumsden, are given below:—

Name of *tahsil*.	Collections.					Average	Propose by Lum den.
	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.		
Mardán ...	Rs. 1,24,022	Rs. 1,24,028	Rs. 1,24,115	Rs. 1,28,719	Rs. 1,21,872	Rs. 1,23,968	Rs. 1,20,980

The number of villages at that time is entered as 141, and out of these eight or nine were not assessed owing to their having been founded or enjoyed by Sayads. In Sambat 1913, corresponding to 1856, Major James made a revision. His *jama* from the vernacular rent roll appears to have been Rs. 1,23,439; this was revised in 1862 and the villages of the Baezai *tappa* brought for the first time on the rent roll. The *jama* fixed is recorded as Rs. 1,25,834. The revenue according to the rent roll for 1872 was Rs. 1,30,101, of which Rs. 1,23,303 was *khalsa*, Rs. 6,698 *jágír* and Rs. 100 *inám*. The *jamas* were generally easily recovered. In successive dry years there was difficulty of course, but after a good harvest any debts contracted for the payment of instalments of bad years were easily repaid. The

last Summary Settlement was made generally with the proprietors. They were represented by their headmen, called by the people *mallik*. In some of the hamlets occupied by non-proprietary cultivators, who paid no portion of the produce at the time of annexation, but held the land on condition of warding off the aggression of neighbouring tribes and helping the tribe to whom the land belonged in its expeditions, the engagements were made with them. There is no village with a *taluqdári* tenure in the *tahsíl*. Enquiries showed that since Sambat 1912, 23,797 acres, or 4 per cent. of the total area, had been mortgaged; 5,201 acres, or 1 per cent., had been sold. The area sold is small; while the large area mortgaged is not due to heavy assessment, but to the peculiar custom of equal division among heirs, whereby each heir takes a piece (from top to bottom) of the ancestral share in every *vand*; this in time brings the shares in *vands* where the heirs are numerous, to such small dimensions that the working a plough up and down them is almost impossible it is in consequence mortgaged to the owner of the next piece, whom it may suit to take it, and the mortgagor obtains in mortgage some other shareholder's share in another *vand*, where he himself owns a larger share. The shares in *vands* vary according to the size of the *vands*, which were fixed with reference to the description of soil. A full original proprietor's share, or *bakhra*, in one *vand* may have been five acres, in another only one acre.

Regular Settlement.

The first Regular Settlement of the district was begun in 1869 under the supervision of Captain Hastings, who reported the results in 1876.

Assessment Circles.

The circles into which he divided the district for purposes of assessment are shown in the table at the top of the next page. His description of each, which is given in his report, contains information that is of the greatest administrative importance in a district where local circumstances are so diversified.

The basis and result of the assessment.

It was laid down that the basis of future assessments should be a share of the gross produce, the amount of which was to be fixed by the local Government; but approximately the share was to be considered one-sixth unless there were special reasons for adopting a different rate. The table on page 203 shows the current demand; the value of the Government share of the assumed produce first estimated at one-sixth of the produce throughout, except the *bárání* land of Hashtnagar and Mardán, where one-twelfth and one-sixteenth respectively were taken; the produce estimates revised as presently described; and the revenue actually assessed, all arranged according to the old *parganahs*. Mr. Hastings thus describes the share of the produce assessed as belonging to Government:—

"In *tahsíl* Pesháwar, where the *ábi* land was the chief consideration, one-sixth share of the produce of all land was at first considered as representing the Government demand; this was too much for the Government share in the *bárání* land, where the proprietors only take one-third to one-fourth, and generally one-sixth, and for which not more than one-twelfth should be taken; at which rate the money value of the Government share only = Rs. 2,45,490 instead of Rs. 2,59,251. The yield too of the

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Assessment Circles.

Name of Tahsil.	Their names.	Number of villages.
Peshawar.	Qasbah Bagrám	16
	Bára	59
	Michni	30
	Koh-i-dáman Mohmand ...	12
	Ditto Khalil ...	6
		123
Nowshera.	Abi	38
	Cháhi	19
	Bolák-nama	16
	Daryápár	14
	Maira	4
	Kinára Daryá	14
	Kohi	46
		151
Daudzai.	Budhni	15
	Daryá Urár	43
	Sháhi Mehál	6
	Michni	14
	Daryápár	23
	Bela...	13
	Cháhi	13
		127

Name of Tahsil.	Their names.	Number of villages.
Doába.	Abi I	25
	Abi II	16
	Jabbazar	8
	Kinara Hajizai	4
		53
Hashtnagar.	Sholgira	37
	Maira	27
	Bela	10
		74
Mardán	Jabba	18
	Maira-darmyanah ...	23
	Do Warpar	30
	*Do Maidan	26
	Do Mashmúla Khatak...	20
	Kinara Darya	10
	† Koh-i-dáman Sadhúm...	36
	Do Baezai	34
		197
	Grand Total ...	725

The basis and results of the assessment.

báráni lands in these *tahsíls*, was fixed too high, so that more than this difference even must be considered as representing the fair share of the Government, and will account for the difference between the revenue fixed as compared with the produce estimates. In *tahsíl* Nowshera the same remarks apply; the difference equals Rs. 49,555 and even then leaves the produce estimate a high one. In *tahsíls* Daudzai and Doába, where nearly all the land is *ábi*, the produce estimates are only reduced Rs. 2,379 in Daudzai, and Rs. 2,266 in Doába. In Hashtnagar and Yusafzai the Government share of *báráni* land was calculated at one-twelfth and one-sixteenth, and they represent more nearly the fair share to which Government is entitled.

Revenue rates were then framed, based chiefly on the produce estimates, which are too numerous to reproduce here, but will be found in detail at pages 235 to 244 of Capt. Hastings' Report. The final result of the assessment, compared with former demands and present estimates, is given arranged according to the old *parganas*. The figures on the following pages give the leading facts arranged according to the present *tahsíls*.

* Two villages (Jalala and Pír-Suddo) since the assessment was made have been transferred to Koh-i-dáman Baezai.

† The village of Bhai Khan has been transferred to Maira-Darmyana.

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

The basis and results of the assessment.

Serial No.	Name of Tahsil.	Name of Chaklas.	Current Revenue.	First Produce Estimate.	Revised Produce Estimate.	New assessment.	Rates per acre. Cultivated.	Rates per acre. Culturable.
							R. A. P.	R. A. P.
1	Peshawar ..	Qasbah ...	22,805	22,280	22,211	21,775	6 14 10	6 0 5
2	Ditto ..	Hara ...	1,65,421	1,75,340	1,71,629	1,61,643	3 12 4	1 13 11
3	Ditto ..	Michni	18,267	24,537	24,358	20,486	3 0 0	2 13 7
4	Ditto ...	Koh-i-dáman Mohmand ...	13,314	30,941	22,042	16,670	0 9 11	0 5 8
5	Ditto ...	Koh-i-dáman Khalil	6,958	6.153	5,250	6,400	1 4 10	0 5 4
	Total ..	.....	2,26,765	2,59.251	2,45,490	2,26,974	2 11 0	1 5 10
6	Nowshehra ...	Abi ...	38.385	52,617	52,310	38,560	3 0 1	2 11 6
7	Ditto ...	Chábi ...	13,689	33,538	28,967	16,285	1 3 4	0 12 2
8	Ditto ...	Rolák-nama ...	16.513	33,108	17,864	17,620	0 7 9	0 5 6
9	Ditto ...	Daryápár ...	14,398	46,365	24,580	18,450	0 7 1	0 4 2
10	Ditto ...	Urmur-maira ..	5,260	7,709	6,580	3,910	0 9 5	0 3 4
11	Ditto ...	Kinára-Daryá ...	5,515	7,437	4,460	4.620	0 9 3	0 4 3
12	Ditto ...	Kohi ...	6,593	6 613	4,101	7,110	0 13 4	0 2 3
	Total ...	.....	1,00,353	1.88,417	1,38,862	1,06,555	0 13 5	0 7 1
13	Dandzai ...	Budni ...	16,754	22,663	22.657	19,644	3 14 1	3 3 7
14	Ditto ...	Daryá Urár ...	29,359	44,855	44,797	39.332	3 2 4	2 4 4
15	Ditto ...	Sháhi Mehal ...	8,508	8,378	8,339	8,550	3 1 7	2 7 11
16	Ditto ...	Michni ...	1,397	10,455	10,176	4,535	1 7 5	0 8 9
17	Ditto ...	Daryápár ...	11,173	12,490	12,486	12.082	2 12 11	1 7 6
18	Ditto ...	Bela ...	13,416	13.276	12,443	12,775	1 15 8	1 1 0
19	Ditto ...	Cháhi ...	11,754	10,575	9,415	7,400	1 10 5	1 1 6
	Total ...	.....	92,360	1,22,692	1,20,313	1,04,318	2 8 7	1 11 2
20	Doaba ...	Abi I ...	51,005	61,596	61,291	53,555	4 9 7	3 7 5
21	Ditto ...	Abi II ...	27,211	46,572	44,611	39,472	2 9 2	1 11 7
22	Ditto ...	Jabbazár ...	4,504	7,313	7 313	5,665	2 8 0	2 4 9
23	Ditto ...	Kinára Hájizai ...	3,141	3,896	3,896	3,550	2 12 10	2 0 10
	Total ...	.....	85,861	1,19,377	1,17,111	1,02,242	2 14 11	2 6 5
24	Hashtnagar ...	Sholgira ...	39,467	43,832	43,832	41,485	3 7 11	2 10 3
25	Ditto ...	Maira ...	47,468	71,091	71,091	61,676	1 10 7	0 7 10
26	Ditto ...	Béla ..	3,958	6,540	6,540	5,640	0 10 3	0 5 10
	Total ...	.....	90,893	1,21,463	1,21,463	1,08,801	0 15 3	0 11 1
27	Mardán ...	Jabba ...	17,436	25.684	25,684	24,120	0 11 10	0 10 10
28	Ditto ...	Maira Darmyána ...	19,548	29.596	29,596	24,703	0 10 11	0 9 5
29	Ditto ...	Maira Warpar ...	35,109	43,249	42,249	38,635	0 10 8	0 9 7
30	Ditto ...	Maira Maidán ...	15,090	24,015	24,015	18,712	0 5 2	0 4 8
31	Ditto ...	Maira Mashmula Khattak ...	20,423	23,393	23,393	21,650	0 7 9	0 6 6
32	Ditto ...	Kinara Daryá ...	4,080	4,827	4,827	4,773	0 9 4	0 8 4
33	Ditto ...	Koh-i-daman Sadhum ...	10,533	16,458	16,458	13,983	0 6 0	0 4 10
34	Ditto ...	Koh-i-daman Baezai	6,596	16,015	16,015	14,507	0 2 6	0 2 3
	Total ...	.....	1,28,815	1,82,237	1,82,237	1,61,073	0 6 11	0 6 1
	Grand Total...	.....	7,25,047	9,93,437	9,35,476	8,09,963	1 1 7	0 11 10

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

The basis and results of the assessment.

Serial Number.	Name of Tahsíl.	Estimates adopted.		
		Plough Estimate.	Produce Estimate.	Revenue Rate.
1	Peshawar	2,61,424	2,99 665	2,57,637
2	Nowshera	82,233	1,33,534	74,972
3	Doába Daudzai	2,08,265	2,28.018	2,10.672
4	Hashtnagar	1,15,790	1,21,875	1,12,987
5	Yusafzai	81,793	84,795	80,267
6	Utmán Bolák	1,16,513	1,30,550	1,12,747
	Total	8,66,018	9,93,437	8,49,282

New Jama finally fixed.								Maáfi Revenue.
Khálsa.	Jágír.	Inám.	Total.	Remission	Total.	Rate on cultivated acre.	Percentage of increase.	
								Rs.
1,88,821	53,556	2,921	2,45.298	11,186	2,56,434	3 1 0	0 11 2	23.298
68,886	3,121	1,853	73.860	210	74,070	0 13 6	2 6 0	4.199
1,67.688	12.091	1,665	1.82 254	9,161	1.91.415	3 2 7	21 4 7	17,793
97.392	4.420	162	1,01 974	7.377	1,09,351	0 15 10	19 9 5	22,352
60,776	4,157	.....	64.933	6,742	71 675	0 5 1	31 6 4	11,851
97,253	4,112	198	1,01,563	5,455	1,07,018	0 10 2	17 15 4	11,947
6.80,816	82,267	6,799	7,69,882	40,081	8.09,963	1 7 1	11 11 4	1,31,440

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Name of Tahsíl.	Sikh jama, Sambat A.D. 1849.	Former Demands.				Current Assessment, A.D. 1874.			
		1st Summary Settlement, A.D., 1850.	Do. 1851.	Do 1852.	Do. 1855.	Khálsá.	Jágír.	Inám.	Total.
Peshawar	3,33,408	3,00,313	2,80,468	2,71,390	2,41 546	1,68,341	49,359	9,065	2,26,765
Nowshera	1,52,085	1,31,354	1,30 235	1,20,153	1,15,013	91,203	6,806	2,344	1,00,353
Daudzai	1,33,648	1,15,336	1,11,522	1,07 666	98,485	85,101	6,959	300	92,360
Doába	1,12 185	1,05,957	1,01,051	83,421	66,152	82,314	3,547	...	85 861
Hashtnagar	1,47,345	1,26,655	1,12,029	1,11,429	1,09,635	86,556	2,310	2,027	90,893
Yusafzai	1,26,100	1,33,462	1,17,687	1,05,024	1,29,919	1,21,905	6,810	100	1,28,815
Total ..	10,04,771	9,13,079	8,52,992	7,99,083	7,80,750	6,35,420	75,791	13,836	7,25,047

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

The basis and results of the assessment,

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Name of Tahsil.	Revised produce estimates.	Revenue rate estimate.	New Revenue Assessed.					Rate on cultivated, including fallow.
			Khálsa.	Jágír and Inám.	Remission.	Total and per cent of difference with kist-band jama.	Percentage of increase on previous demand.	
Peshawar	2,45,490	2,26,452	1,63,571	52,267	11,136	2,26,974	0 1 6	2 11 0
Nowshera	1,38,862	1,11,232	97,742	8,803	210	1,06,555	6 12 11	0 13 5
Daudzai	1,20,318	1,16,735	90,571	10,938	2,809	1,04,318	12 15 2	2 8 7
Doába	1,17,111	1,09,042	92,019	4,371	5,852	1,02,242	19 11 3	2 14 11
Hashtnagar ..	1,21,463	1,12,473	96,842	4,582	7,377	1,08,801	19 11 3	0 15 3
Mardán	1,82,237	1,73,348	1,40,571	8,305	12,197	1,61,073	25 0 8	0 7 0
Total ...	9,25,476	8,49,283	6,81,316	89,066	39,581	8,09,963	11 11 4	1 0 10

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Name of Tahsil.	Rate including fallow and culturable.	Máfi area.	Máfi land and mill revenue	Former amount of cesses.	Present amount of cesses.	Total increase, including cesses.	Percentage of increase on previous demand
Peshawar ..	1 5 10	5,746	21,866	24,892	37,906	13,223	5 4 1
Nowshera ...	0 7 1	5,515	5,306	12,470	17,604	10,936	9 10 7
Daudzai ...	1 11 0	3,393	11,134	10,389	18,218	19,787	19 6 2
Doába ...	2 6 5	1,871	7,556	9,290	16,507	23,598	24 12 10
Hashtnagar ...	0 11 1	12,694	22,318	9,549	17,478	25,837	25 11 6
Mardán ...	0 6 1	65,955	23,260	13,526	23,238	41,970	29 7 9
Total ...	0 11 10	95,454	91,440	80,516	1,30,951	1,35,351	16 12 9

The per cent. increase of the present revenue compared with the old revenue is given under heading No. 18.

The *máfi* revenue is not included; this is shown separately under heading No. 22.

The total increase including cesses, and also the per cent. increase, are shown under column Nos. 25, 26.

The amount under column 23 includes the *lambardár* cess at Rs. 5 per cent. on the old *jama*; it is really more than was paid, because *lambardárs* who had *ináms* did not usually recover *pachotra*.

The local rate cess is not included among the cesses.

Settlement of waste lands.

No	Name of Villages.	Total area of the village	Area of *rakh* set apart
1	Dág Ismailkhel ...	28,603	650
2	Saddokhel	3,070	205
2	Kattikhel	2,701	542
4	Manhaí	3,130	307
5	Palosí	2,276	191
6	Khasraí	3,530	248
7	Hangal	2,004	668
8	Lakraí	2,931	20
9	Daurán Mayakhel ...	742	272
	Total ...	43,987	3,093

In *tahsíl* Nowshera only, under section 27 of Act XXXII of 1871, separate Settlements have been made for excess waste lands in nine villages. In every case but Daurán, they are engaged for by the proprietors of the villages to which the land belongs. The marginal

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

statement shows the total areas of the villages, and the areas of the excess waste lands or *rakhs* set apart.

Mill assessment.

The mills have been separately assessed: in Pesháwar there are ten classes charged at Rs. 50, 40, 30, 25, 22, 20, 15, 14, 12-8 and 5; in Daudzai four, charged at Rs. 40, 30, 20 and 10; in Doába three classes, charged at Rs. 30, 20 and 10; in Hashtnagar four classes charged Rs. 25, 20, 15 and 10, and in Mardán, where the mills are necessary and not a source of income, they have been nominally assessed at Rs. 6, 4 and 3. It was first of all intended that the mill revenue should be considered a portion of the village revenue, and not liable to increase or decrease, but this was found to be impossible, as the mills are often owned by persons who have no other right in the village. It is accordingly necessary every year to check the number of mills, allow reductions for those mills which have fallen out of repair by the action of the river, which may increase or decrease the water of the channel on which the mills are situated, and to assess the newly built mills according to the class under which they come; this is carried out at the same time that the alluvion and diluvion inquiries are made.

Settlement made with proprietors.

The Settlement was made with the proprietors; where there were inferior and superior, the Settlements were made with the inferior.

Instalments.

The instalments sanctioned by Government for each *tahsíl* are as follows:—

Name of Tahsíl.	*Kharíf.*	Shares payable.	*Rabi.*	Shares payable.
Pesháwar... Quasbah ...	15th November ...	one	15th April	two
			15th July	
			15th August ...	
Khálsa ...	15th Nov., 15th Dec. .	one	15th April	one
			15th June	
			15th July	
Other circles ..	Ditto ditto ...	two	15th June, 15th July.	one
Nowshera Khattak hill villages.	Ditto ditto. ...	one	15th June	one
			15th July	
			15th August ...	
Nowshera ..	15th Nov., 15th Dec. ...		15th June, 15th July	
Dáudzai	Jehángirabád	three	Ditto	two
	Cháhi	one	Ditto	one
	Bolak-náma	two	Ditto	three
	Urmar	one	Ditto	two
	15th Nov., 15th Dec. 15th January.		15th June, 15th July.	
	Dáudzái	two	Ditto	one
	Villages irrigated from Adezaí.	three	Ditto	one
Doába	15th Nov, 15th Dec. 15th January.		Ditto.	
	Doába ...	two	Ditto	one
	Villages irrigated from Adezaí	three	Ditto	one
Hashtnagar Sholgíra ...	15th November 15th December 15th January	two	Ditto	one
Maira Bela ...	15th Nov., 15th Dec.		Ditto. ...	...
	Maira	one	Ditto	two
	Bela	one	Ditto	one
Mardán	Ditto ditto ...	one	Ditto	one

Tahsíl.	Harvest and Fasli year.
Pesháwar ...	Kharíf 1281
Utmán Bolák	,, 1282
Mardán ...	,, 1282
Nowshera ...	,, 1281
Doába Dáudzai	,, 1281
Hashtnagar ...	,, 1282

The new assessments are sanctioned for a term of twenty years running fom the harvests noted in the margin.

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Term of settlement.

The cesses payable on land revenue are as in the next margin, in rupees per cent. of revenue.

Cesses.

Cess.	Mardán and Hashtnagar		Other tahsíls.	
	R.	A.	R.	A.
Lambardár ,,	5	0	5	0
Patwári ,,	6	0	5	0
Road ...	1	0	1	0
School ...	1	0	1	0
Post ,,	0	8	0	8
Zaildár	...		1	0
Head Lambardár	.....		1	0
Total ...	13	8	14	8

The *mirábi* is a fixed sum collected in all the *tahsíls* but Mardán. It is described, and figures given, in the section on irrigation rights (page 140). In addition to the above cesses local rates are levied at Rs. 8-5-4 per cent. on the revenue.

Government lands.

Table No. XVII shows the area and income of Government estates; while Table No. XIX shows the area of land acquired by Government for public purposes.

Assignments of land revenue.

Table No. XXX shows the number of villages, parts of villages, and plots, and the area of land of which the revenue is assigned, the amount of that revenue, the period of assignment, and the number of assignees for each *tahsíl* as the figures stood in 1881-82.

The whole subject of assignments of land revenue came under review at the Regular Settlement, when it was found that the *jágírdárs* were, according to the old Sikh system, taking a full half share of the produce, instead of the Government demand which was all they were entitled to; and that they had often transferred their *jágír* rights by sale, gift, or mortgage, while collaterals had in some cases inherited. A full detail of the assignments will be found at pages CXX to CXLVII of the appendices to Captain Hastings' report. They may be classed under the following heads, each of which will be separately noticed:—

1. *Máfis* to mosques.
2. ,, village servants.
3. ,, shrines.
4. ,, Hindu buildings.
5. Miscellaneous *máfis*.
6. Mill *máfis*.
7. *Lambardárs' inám*s.
8. *Maliks'* ,,
9. *Daftaris'* ,,
10. Favourable assessments—
    (*a*) of border tribes,
    (*b*) of leading men.

Máfis to mosques.

It was found that in every village there were one or more *masjids*, to each of which attached a small *máfi* enjoyable by the *imám* or village priest; some of these cases had previously been enquired into, and received sanction to be enjoyed either during the pleasure of Government, or for life, and liable to re-consideration at death. By far the greater number had not been enquired into at all. As their resumption would be considered a hardship and the amount thereby saved would not compensate for the ill-feeling caused, it was decided that, provided the *máfis* were proved to be of old standing, not necessarily three generations, they should be released in favour of the *imám* in occupation, during the pleasure of Government, "*tá marzi Sarkár*," subject to the performance of the

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

duties attaching to the position. The figures below show their number and distribution :—

Máfis to mosques.

Name of Tahsíl.	No. of máfis.	Total area.	Revenue.	No. of máfis.	
				Less than 10 acres.	More than 10 acres.
Pesháwar	298	523	2,124	296	2
Doába Daudzai	329	578	2,170	329	.....
Nowshera	8	421	833	76	11
Hashtnagar	284	1,114	2,133	261	23
Mardán	225	2,788	780	159	66
Utmán Bolák	177	1,623	1,153	118	59
Total ...	1,400	7,047	8,693	1,239	161

Villages servants' *máfis*.

Máfi Chakrana deh.

No previous enquiry had been made regarding this class of *máfis*, but in most villages there were usually found *loháre* (blacksmiths), *tarkháne* (carpenters), *kuláls* (potters), *náis* (barbers), and others enjoying small portions of *inám* land. It was decided, in those *máfis* proved to have been enjoyed for a long period, that they should be continued to the office and upheld during the pleasure of Government on condition of service. The result of these enquiries for the district will be found in the statement in the margin.

Class of servants.	No. of grants.	Area in acres.
Blacksmiths	273	543
Carpenters	392	720
Cobblers	1	1
Potters	31	24
Barbers	266	353
Bards	52	79
Servants of guest-houses	2	6
Sweepers	1	1
Brickmakers	10	19
Bakers	17	10
Doctors	2	4
Watchmen	18	12
Washermen	2	1
Shepherds	1	2
Total ...	1,068	1,775

Máfis to *ziárats*.

In cases of this class, it was ascertained if the income from the *máfi* went towards the maintenance of the *ziárat* or shrine; if so, and it was one much reverenced, the *máfis* were upheld so long as the *ziárat* to which they attach is held in respect, and during the pleasure of Government. When, however, the income was not expended mainly in the keeping up of the shrine, but enjoyed by the present *máfidars*, simply owing to their being descendants of the saint, proposals for enjoyment for life and favourable assessment afterwards were sanctioned. The total number of such grants was 89, and their annual value Rs. 6,571. In Yusafzai, *máfis* set apart for the support of buildings and shrines, or granted to the priesthood, are known as *seris*, translated by Major James as free gift; but as the situation of *seri* land is generally at the head of a *vand*, it is probable that the word is simply *seri* and means from the head.

Máfis to Hindu buildings.

There are but few *máfis* to Hindu buildings, and nearly all are situated in the limits of the old Pesháwar, Daudzai, and Doába

Name of Tahsíl.	No of Máfis.	Value.
		Rs.
Pesháwar	25	697
Nowshera ...	4	56
Doába Daudzai ...	6	177
Mardán	1	1
Utmán Bolák ...	.. ...	.....
Total ...	36	931

tahsils. They were granted by the Sikhs for a lengthened period. The figures in the margin show the number in each tahsil.

Máfis to Hindu buildings.

This class of *máfis*, usually found to be enjoyed by Sayads, Afgháns, and sometimes Brahmins were upheld for life where they were proved to have been enjoyed for a long period.

Miscellaneous *máfis*.

In the case of mills, too, although strictly speaking not *máfis*, as there were no *sanads* forthcoming to support their free enjoyment, the fact of long enjoyment was taken into consideration. The statement in the margin shows the number of mills in each *tahsíl*, the number recommended to be granted free and the number for which favourable assessments have been proposed.

Mill *máfis*.

Name of Tahsíl.	No. of mills	No. of mills granted free	Value.	No. of mills favourably assessed	Value.
					Rs.
Pesháwar	231	108	2,407	12	292
Doába Daudzai ...	175	38	727	6	120
Hashtnagar	190	65½	882	36	587
Mardán	33	...	...	...	...
Utmán Bolák ...	66	...	...	...	...
Total ...	695	211½	4,016	54	999

Lambardár's inams.

The *lambardárs* of the district, as a rule, enjoyed *ináms*; in *tahsíls* Peshawar and Dáudzai the *inám* was often nothing more than their proportional share in the *inám ba-wajeh-daftariat* previously mentioned. Some of them were in enjoyment of more than their proportional share. In *tappa* Bárazai of Khalíl, the one-fourth favourable assessment was all that was enjoyed by *lambardárs* and proprietors. In Doába, Hashtnagar and Mardán *pachotra* was taken, and the *lambardárs* had *inams* besides in parts of Mardán and Hashtnagar. In *tahsíl* Nowshera the *lambardárs* of the Khattak hill villages enjoyed cash *ináms* and relief from their share of the Government assessment, according as the distribution was on houses or cattle. In *tappas* Tureh and Bolák, ploughs of land (*i.e.*, the area a plough could cultivate), cash and wells were enjoyed as *inám*. In some villages of *tappa* Khalsa there was an *inám* known as *sekot* or *trihara*, *i.e.*, one-third of the produce of the land; it originated under the Sikh farmers.

System of exemption from assessment.

The idea of cash allowances was not favourably received by the headmen; and as it was important that they should be contented, it was arranged that in commutation, *lambardárs* should receive *ináms* by freeing their land in the distribution to the amount of the allowance, *i.e.*, the amount to be given in *inám* was to be added to the assessment of the village, and distributed over the village lands, minus the land to be granted to the *lambardárs*. This arrangement saved them the collection of the cess from other proprietors, who, if relations and connections, seldom paid, and from whom the headmen often did not care to recover. The land

Chapter V, C. Land and Land Revenue.

granted as *inám* was assessed land. If the allowance exceed the revenue of the *lambardar's* land, or, if the *lambardar's* land was already *jágír* or *máfi* to him, he will receive the remainder in cash.

Khattak *lambardárs'* allowances.

For the Khattak hill village *lambardárs* whose allowance at Rs. 5 per cent came to next to nothing, the old *ináms* of *lambardárs* in cash and land enjoyed by them were both upheld for their lives as well as the allowance at 5 per cent. And where the present *ináms* of *lambardárs* in commutation of allowance fell short of their original *inám*, the differences were upheld for life.

Mardán tenant allowances.

In Mardán, where the occupants of some hamlets who carried on the duties of *lambardárs* and enjoyed *ináms* in consideration of that position were declared tenants, special arrangements were made to uphold some part of their original *ináms* for life.

Results of above arrangements.

The statement on the next page shows the results of these arrangements in each *tahsil*.

Malliks' ináms.

Malliks' ináms are few; they are the headmen of families already described. They are only to be found in Pesháwar *tahsíl* now. At the Regular Settlement opportunity was taken to appoint them *lambardárs*, and their *ináms* were then treated as other *lambardárs' ináms*. If they remained *malliks* their *ináms* were upheld for life, liable to reconsideration at death. The statement in the margin shows the number of *malliks* and the *ináms* enjoyed by them.

Name of Tahsil.	No. of Malliks.	Acres free of revenue	Revenue in rupees.
Pesháwar ...	42	151	774
Hashtnagar ...	13	99	138

Daftaris' ináms.

The *daftaris* were found, as a rule, in *tappas* Mohmand, Khalil and Daudzai, enjoying small *ináms ba-wajeh-daftariat* (*i.e.*, rent). The *ináms* should have been resumed in the first instance, when the Government limited its demand to one-sixth, but as it was not done, and the *ináms* had been enjoyed for so long, it was considered advisable to resume after the deaths of present enjoyers. The statement in the margin shows the results for the district.

Name of Tahsil	No of Daftaris.	Acres free of revenue.	Revenue in rupees.
Pesháwar ...	794	3,561	7,067
Nowshera ...	25	97	111
Doába Daudzai ...	449	662	2,716
Hasthnagar ...	8	12	59
Mardán ...	116	8,024	1,115
Utmán Kolák ...	82	2,681	2,013
Total ...	1,474	15,057	13,081

Favourable assessments.

The favourable assessments may be placed under four headings:—

I.—Where favourable assessments had hitherto been enjoyed; for example, *tappa* Barozai. Here in every case, if the village adjoins independent territory, the favourable assessment was continued; and in villages not adjoining the border, a part only was resumed and the remainder upheld for period of Settlement. Twenty-three such villages now enjoy a favourable assessment to the amount of Rs. 5,372.

II.—The Michni and Halimzai Mohmands occupy land in British territory, and had their favourable assessments upheld as heretofore; the only increase being in the matter of cesses. Their

Name of Tahsil.	Amount of Inams formerly enjoyed by Lambardar.			No. of lambardárs in the district at the conclusion of Settlement.	Land exempt from Assessment, Cash Allowance and Inam Land.									
					Permanent Grants.			Granted for life.						
	Land and its present jama.	Cash.	Total.		Land exempt and its jama.	Cash.	Total.	Land and its jama.	Cash.	Total.				
Peshawar ...	Acres 1,239 Rs. 5,467	Rs. 7,263	Rs. 12,730	518	Acres 2 937 Rs. 11,512	Rs. 2,475	Rs 13,987	Acres 205 Rs. 914	Rs.	Rs. 914	Rs. 14,901			
Doába Daudzai ...	Acres 1,896 Rs. 6,183	1,703	7,891	327	Acres 2,855 Rs. 9,738	299	10,037	Acres 654 Rs. 1,951	.....	1,951	11,988			
Nowshera ...	Acres 2,250 Rs. 1,795	1,653	3,448	228	Acres 3,307 Rs. 2,434	1,432	3,866	Acres 1,585 Rs 890	1,653	2,543	6,409			
Hashtnagar ...	Acres 1,358 Rs 2,849	1,065	3,914	244	Acres 4,234 Rs 5,679	675	6,354	Acres 249 Rs. 595	115	710	7,064			
Mardán ...	Acres 9,367 Rs. 1,406	2,226	3,632	423	Acres 4 670 Rs 439	3,400	3,839	Acres 6,849 Rs. 1 087	.....	1,087	4,926			
Utmán Bolák ...	Acres 6,851 Rs 3,454	3,062	6,516	377	Acres 1,200 Rs. 515	5,160	5,675	Acres 6,683 Rs. 2,845	.....	2,845	8,520			
Total ...	Acres 22,961 Rs. 21,159	16,972	38,131	2 117	Acres 19,203 Rs. 30 317	13 441	43 758	Acres 15 225 Rs. 8,282	1 768	10 050	53,808			

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Results of the *inám* arrangements.

former actual assessments, what they used to pay with cesses, and what they are now asked to pay with cesses, will be seen in the statement on the top of the next page.

Favourable assessments.

III.—New favourable assessments owing to situation on or near the border, in obedience to the instructions contained in Government letter No. 755, dated 30th November 1870. These orders were freely used in Mardán and Hashtnagar, and met the case of hamlets hitherto enjoyed free. All the proprietary body are

Chapter V, C.

Land and Land Revenue.

Favourable assessments.

Name of *Tahsil.*	Name of Tribe.	No. of villages.	Former actual assessment	The amount previously paid, plus cesses.	The amount now paid. Revenue.	The amount now paid. Cesses.	Full amount payable in event of misbehaviour, not including cesses.
Doába Dandzai	Tarakzais ...	12	3,304	841	797	244	3,606
	Halimzai Mehmands	1	200	211	200	210	3,047
	Total ..	13	3,504	1,052	997	454	6,653

entitled to this favour. In Shabkadr, where the proprietor was single-handed and could do nothing alone, the favour was extended to the tenants with occupancy rights. The *mafidars'* rights were affected in a few cases, where the proprietors have demanded that they should be restricted to the Government demand instead of what they had hitherto enjoyed. The figures in the table given in the margin will show the results of the new favourable assessments of the Settlement.

Name of Tahsil	Number of villages in which favourable assessments have been made.	Amount of revenue excused.
		Rs
Peshawar ...	14	4,551
Doába Dandzai	3	3,605
Hashtnagar ...	11	5 250
Mardán ...	22	5,380
Utmán Bolák ...	17	5,055
Total ...	67	23,741

IV.—The fourth class includes favourable assessments to leading men, whose lands or mills had hitherto been lightly assessed; to ask them to pay the average rates in adjoining villages would have been hard. This system of favourable assessment was also carried out for a few others whom it was considered advisable to favour and place in a better position than ordinary *zamindárs*. The statement below will show the number of cases, and the families to whom consideration has been shown:—

Name of Tahsil.	No. of cases.	Name of the persons or families with whom favourable assessments have been made.	Amount of revenue excused.
			Rs.
Peshawar	4	Arbáb Sarfráz Khán and his brothers Jumma Khan, Abdul Kharim Khan, Kotla Arbáb Khels family ...	1,046
		Pir Hanif of Palosi Piran	46
		Total ...	1,092
Hashtnagar ...	5	Mir Hásn Khan	227
		Qázi Amír Ján, &c.	150
		Mokarram Khán, &c.	600
		Shahbáz Khan, &c	600
		Abdulla Khán of Umarzai, &c.	550
		Total ...	2,127
Mardán ...	6	Ibráhím Khán of Hamza Kot	200
		Akram and Afzal	200
		Amad-ud-dín of Qazíábad	62
		Yár Muhammad, &c, of Hoti	150
		Khwája Muhammad Khan of Hoti	683
		Mohabbat Khán of Toru	67
		Total ...	1,362
Utmán Bolák ...	2	Ahmad Khán of Khazáná	200
		Abbas Khán of Ahad Khán	200
		Total ...	400
		Grand Total ...	4,981

The Khalil Arbábkhel had peviously received the sanction of Government to enjoy their acquired lands free for life, and at one-fourth assessment after death of the occupants then enjoying; these favourable assessments are not included in the foregoing statement.

The Khalíl Arbábkhel.

Some of the leading men were found in enjoyment of large areas on which they had paid nothing hitherto; in every case, looking to the position of the claimant, and comparing him with his neighbours, arrangements were made to uphold portions for life, conditional on service and help in recovering revenue instalments, provided such help should be required. The subjoined statement shows the result of the proposals for the leading men of Hashtnagar and Mardán:—

Hashtnagar and Mardán Kháns' *inám*s.

Name of Tahsíl.	No. of Kháns or leading men in possession and enjoyment of máfis.	Former Mafis.			Present Mafis.		
		Area.	Mills.	Revenue.	Area.	Mills.	Revenue.
				Rs.			Rs.
Hashtnagar ...	14	4,952	23	2,783	4,952	15½	2,643
Mardán ...	11	7,894	...	4,302	3,258	...	2,466
Total ...	25	12,846	23	7,085	7,210	15½	5,109

Swát River Canal.

This canal was projected with the view of supplying irrigation to the dry plains in the north-east of the Peshawár valley, lying between the Swát and Kábul rivers, and the Kalpáni torrent, on the banks of which Hoti Mardán, the station of the Regiment of Guides, is situated. The scheme originated with the late Sir Henry Lawrence, who, when President of the Board of Administration for the Punjab, advocated the construction of a canal in this locality, more on the ground that it would have an admirable political effect than from any hope of its yielding a large income. The first official proposal on record is contained in a Minute, dated 1st December 1870, by Sir Henry Durand, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who personally visited the localities, and especially the site afterwards fixed on for the head-works. The proposal was cordially approved by Lord Mayo. A preliminary report, with rough estimate of cost, was submitted to the Government of India with the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Henry Davies) on 23rd September 1871, with the view of obtaining sanction to the prosecution of further investigations and preparation of a detailed project. The scope of this preliminary project comprised the tract in the Pesháwar district, bounded on the west and south by the Kábul river, on the east by the Kalpáni torrent, a tributary of the Indus, and by the Indus itself, and on the north by the frontier range of hills, the length being about 25 miles, average breadth about 12 miles. Through the north-west corner the Swát river flows, debouching from the hills not far from the post of Abazai, and joining the

Chatper V, C. Land and Land Revenue.

Swát River Canal.

Kábul river about 14 miles above the cantonment of Nowshera. The triangular corner thus cut off, called "the Doába," has long been, and is now, extensively irrigated by inundation canals from the Swát river, and a narrow strip in the valley of that river on its left bank is similarly protected, so that no provision for these portions of the tract is required beyond ensuring that the new works will not interfere with the supply of water they now enjoy. The primary object of the project is to provide irrigation for the high table land lying between the Swát and Kábul rivers and the Kalpáni, which is at too high a level to be reached by inundation canals, while the rainfall is scanty and precarious, and the water level is at a great depth below the surface of the ground. To the eastward of the Kalpani the water is found at a higher level. Sir Henry Durand accordingly considered that the irrigation from the canal should be limited, at least for the present, to lands westward of that stream. An extension beyond the Kalpáni is possible should it be hereafter deemed advisable. The valley, with a rainfall ranging between 8 and 15 inches, stands urgently in need of irrigation. An attempt was apparently made in olden times to draw water from the river for this tract at a point close to the site of the present head-works. The remains of an embanked channel are still visible in places above the fort of Abazai, but how long ago this was constructed, how far it was carried, or whether water ever flowed in the channel, no one can now say. The hill torrents probably carried away the canal, if it was ever constructed across them. The question whether wells would not be a cheaper mode of providing the irrigation was disposed of in a letter from the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, in which it was calculated that the probable cost of wells to supply the area irrigable by this project would be about 1¾ millions sterling.

The preliminary investigations showed that the supply of water in the river at its lowest was ample to supply both old and new irrigation, the smallest discharge measured up to that time being 2,970 cubic feet per second, of which 726 cubic feet were required for the old irrigation, leaving 2,244 cubic feet for the new canal. The area irrigable on the high land was estimated at 141,706 acres, or 47,235 in the summer season, 94,470 acres in the winter. The original scheme comprised the construction of a masonry weir 500 feet in length across the river, close to its debouche from the hills, about two miles above the Abazai fort; the crest of the weir was designed at the level of low water. A little below this weir a channel to supply the high land and the inundation canals on the Yusafzai side was projected from the left bank of the river, and another for the old irrigation in the Doába from the right. The probable outlay, exclusive of interest and other indirect charges, was estimated as Rs. 14,70,000, the net income at Rs. 1,88,000, which would give a profit of 12·84 per cent. on the outlay. On receipt of this report and estimate, orders were issued by the Governor-General in Council to proceed with the further investigations required and the preparation of a detailed estimate. This estimate, amounting to Rs. 19,45,000, was submitted in 1874, and forwarded to the Secretary of State in 1875, and sanctioned by him

in 1876. In recommending the project the Government of India pointed out that the present sparseness of population in the tract affected by the canal might affect the anticipated financial results. It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty when the irrigation will be fully developed, but confidence was felt in the soundness of the estimate of the revenue officers that this might be looked for in fifteen years after the opening of the canal. Orders to commence the work were issued on the 1st November, 1876, but shortly after the commencement it was ascertained that the rates at which work could be done had been under-estimated, and that sufficient provision had not been made for passing drainage across the canal. Subsequent investigation also showed that a weir was unnecessary and that by locating the canal head above some reefs in the river bed, a sufficient depth of water could be obtained for the canal without interfering in any way with existing irrigation. The preparation of a revised estimate was therefore ordered to provide for the increased expenditure. This was submitted in June 1880, and received the sanction of the Secretary of State early in the following year; it showed a probable direct expenditure of Rs. 35,45,800 and a net revenue of Rs. 1,39,500 per annum. The canal is now (November 1883) on the verge of completion, and, as finally aligned, the main channel is 26 miles 300 feet long from its head to the point where it divides into two large *rájbahás* Nos. VIII and IX, one carrying 200 cubic feet and the other 155 cubic feet per second. In addition to various other masonry works the main line is crossed by six large drainages, for which 619 lineal feet of waterway have been provided, and fourteen minor ones, aggregating 500 lineal feet of waterway. Besides the above there are five large embankments of heights varying from 13 to 35 feet above ground surface. The treacherous nature of the soil, as well as the difficulty of procuring labour, has made these works more costly than they would otherwise have been. In addition to the two above-mentioned there are seven other distributaries, the alignment and construction of which are in progress; and the canal is expected to be ready for irrigation next *kharif*. The canal has cost Rs. 37,25,000. The head-works, situated in the Abazai country at the point where the Swát river enters British territory, consist of a regulator with seven openings of six feet in width, placed parallel to the stream of the river in a line with the bank. Forts have been constructed at both ends of the bridge to render it defensible. The estimated supply is 700 cubic feet per second, the area protected 126,000 acres, the length of the main line 26 miles, and the estimated annual irrigation 40,000 acres in the *kharíf* and 50,000 in the *rabí*.

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS, MUNICIPALITIES, AND CANTONMENTS.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities, and Cantonments.

General statistics of towns.

At the Census of 1881, all places possessing more than 5,000 inhabitants, all municipalities, and all head-quarters of districts and military posts were classed as towns. Under this rule the following places were returned as the towns of the Pesháwar district :—

Tahsíls	Town.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Pesháwar ...	Pesháwar ...	79 982	50,322	29,660
	Fort Mackeson ...	170	130	40
Khálsa Khattak ...	Nowshera ...	12,963	8,224	4,739
Doába Dáúdzai ...	Fort Shankargarh ...	1,367	879	488
	Fort Michni ...	208	205	3
Hashtnagar ...	Tangi ...	9,037	4 915	4,122
	Maira Prang ...	8,874	4,675	4,199
	Charsadda ...	8,363	4,581	3,782
	Utmanzai ..	4,823	2,588	2,235
	Fort Abazai ...	220	213	7
Mardán ...	Mardán ...	2 766	2,214	552

The distribution by religion of the population of these towns and the number of houses in each are shown in Table No. XLIII, while further particulars will be found in the Census Report in Table No. XIX and its appendix and Table No. XX. The remainder of this Chapter consists of a detailed description of each town, with a brief notice of its history, the increase and decrease of its population, its commerce, manufactures, municipal government, institutions, and public buildings ; and statistics of births and deaths, trade and manufactures, wherever figures are available.

Pesháwar city. Description.

The only city in the district, Pesháwar, is situated in the irrigated portion of the valley to the south-west, about 13 or 14 miles east of the entry to the Khaibar Pass, in latitude 34° 2', longitude 71° 3'. It is distant from Lahore 276 miles, from Kábul 190 miles, from Kohát 37, from Mardán 31, and from Attock 50 miles. The gardens on the south of the city are noted for their fruit. Quinces, pomegranates, plums, limes, peaches and apples are produced in luxuriant abundance. They also form the pleasure grounds of the people, who in the early spring spend all their leisure there, exactly as Londoners resort to Bushey or Richmond Park. On the north side is the *Sháhi* or Royal *bágh*, the property of Government, now converted into a pleasure ground. The fort is at the north-west corner of the city, and the cantonment lies to the west. On the east there are a few orchards, groves, *ziárats*, and the principal burial grounds in modern use. The city occupies a space of 494·20 acres; its population is 55,610 or including cantonments and suburbs, 79,982 souls. It is surrounded by a mud wall, built in the first instance by Avitabile, the Sikh Governor, and paid for by the levy of a tax. The gates of the city are sixteen in number; commencing from the

Peshawar city. Description.

west, their names are Rám Dás and Dabgari; to the north the Bajauri, Kábuli or Edwardes memorial, Asamai or Namadmali Kacheri, Rati, Rámpura and Hashtnagar gates; on the east the Lahori and Ganj gates; and on the south Yakka Tút, Kohátí, Sharki Darwázá, Thandi Kuhí, and Tabíbún gates. The gates are closed every night at gunfire, and used to be opened by the same signal in the early morning. The city is divided into five main quarters—Sarásiá, Jehángirpura, Andar Shahr, Karímpura, and Ganj. The *saraís* number 11—the principal ones are Sulemán, Saháfán, Kázi Najíb and Názir Khairullah. There are ten market places—the three largest are the Ganj Mandi, Pípal Mandi opposite the Kotwálí, and Nawi Mandi near the Dabgari gate. The city is commanded by a mud fort to the north-west. This fort was built by the Sikhs on the ruins of the Bála Hissár or state residence of the Duránís, which was destroyed by the Sikhs after the battle of Nowshera. The main street, entered from the Kábul gate, is a row of shops, the upper rooms of which are generally let out as lodgings; it is paved, and presents at times a very picturesque sight. The remainder of the city, made up of octagons, squares, markets, narrow and irregular streets, is thoroughly eastern. The drainage was as bad as usual in eastern cities, until the Deputy Commissioner set to work to remedy it. It is now fast becoming one of the best drained cities in the Punjab. The houses are built with a frame work of timber filled up with small burnt bricks, called "nogging" in England; it is believed that houses built in this style are best able to withstand the shocks of the earthquakes so frequent in the valley. They nearly all have superstructures which project, and the consequence is that in the upper storeys the houses on opposite sides of the street nearly touch. There is nothing outwardly striking as regards the local architecture; the interiors of some of the large houses are very elaborate; all are built for privacy and adapted to the comfort and habits of the people. The forms are usually quadrangular, and are carried up to four or five storeys; the roofs are flat and enclosed by frames of wood-work six or seven feet high, filled up with mud, which allows of their use during the winter days and summer nights, when it would be impossible to sleep inside.

A very good idea of Pesháwar life can be obtained by a bird's-eye view from the Gor Khatri, which stands on an eminence to the east of the city and overlooks it. There are very few fine old houses now; those there are have been lately built, and belong to the merchant class. Most of the fine old houses were destroyed at the same time as the Bála Hissár. The buildings worthy of notice are the Gor Khatri, originally a place of Hindú pilgrimage and mentioned by Bábar, who visited it in 1519. When Avitabile was Governor of Pesháwar, he resided there and erected a pavilion on the top of the western gate, which does not now exist. The upper portion of the gateway is used as the *tahsíl:* the eastern gate used as a Government guest house for native gentlemen; the north-east corner is occupied by a house belonging to the missionaries. To reach the Gor Khatri from the Kábuli gate the Kotwáli is passed through by an arch; it occupies the south side of an octagon, in the interior of which is the silk merchants' quarter. The Kotwáli was built during British rule

The mosque of Mohabbat Khán, named after Mohabbat Khán, a Governor of Sháh Jehán's, easily distinguishable by its two high minarets, used frequently in Avitabile's time as a substitute for the gallows, is the finest public building in the city; it is in the quarter known as Andar Shahr. In the hot weather the people whose means admit of it live in subterranean rooms, *taikhánas*, which are attached to many of the larger houses; all the arrangements are very complete, and it is apparently as healthy a way of passing life as remaining above ground in a temperature of 90° or 100°. There are ten public *hamáms*—this is a popular luxury, much fancied by the people in the winter. In and near the city there are three wells, the water of which is noticeably cool during the hot season. It is managed by turning in the Bára water during the winter till the well is filled up, and then hermetically sealing it till the summer, when it is opened for the first time. The water is refreshing, and of a much lower temperature than water artificially cooled, except by ice. Bhána-Mári and Dheri Bágbánán are suburbs, and stretch from the foot of the walls to the south-west direction of the city. To the west, about two miles from the city, lies the cantonment, where there are public offices, &c. The city is traversed by a main street called Kissa Kháni running from the Edwardes' gate *viâ* the Kotwáli to Gor Khatri, the width of which is some 50 feet; it is well paved, and a canal runs through the centre of the city. The city canal has been built of *pakka* masonry, and it supplies ample water for washing, building, and watering the streets. Drinking water is procured from wells which are numerous in all quarters. All the drains are *pakka*. The sanitary arrangements are generally excellent.

The internal arrangement of the city is thus described by Colonel McGregor:—

"The streets are planned with great irregularity; the main street of the city enters at the Kábuli Darwázá, and runs east for 350 yards, then north north-east for 200 yards, when it comes to the market-place; thence one street branches north to the Masjid Darwázá, and another goes to the east and then branches, one going to the Ganj Darwázá and the other to the grass-market gate. The street which goes past the Kotwáli from the market-place throws off a branch to the east at the Kacheri Darwázá, and this in about 130 yards again forks into two, one going to the Lahori Darwázá and the other to the Ghor Khatri to within 30 yards of the east wall, when it branches north and south, one going to the Lahori Darwázá and the other to the Ganj Darwázá. These streets are generally about 30 feet wide, but in some places, as near the Kábuli gate and the market-place, they are as much as 50 to 60 feet. The other streets are very narrow and tortuous, and not too clean, but the main streets are kept in a state of very fair average cleanliness. There are 132 *sarais* and market-places in the city. The principal *sarai* is the Ghor Khatri, which is a square enclosure of about 170 yards; the others are the Sarai Mahabat near the south-west corner of the Ghor Khatri, the Sarai Hira Chaukidár, the Sarai Sulimán at the junction of the Gor Khatri and Lahori Darwázá road, the Sarai Muhammadi, and the Sarai Wali Muhammad. The principal mosques in the city are the Masjid Mohabat Khán and the Masjid Diláwar Khán. The principal market-places are the Mandi Gor Khatri on the north-east face of that place: the grass-market outside the gates in the centre of the

south face; the horse-market a little to the west of this but inside the city. There are several wood-markets; the principal one is at the north-west corner near the Bála Hissár. Besides these, there are the clock market-place on the main road from the Kábuli gate, and the Chabútra market-place on the north of this. The first is an open space with sheds all round, about 200 yards by 150 yards; the other is a square of about 130 yards surrounded by houses. The city is divided into five quarters, and 168 wards. The first 26 of these quarters run, in the succession given above, from the south-west to the west, north and east round the walls of the city; the others commence to the south of the Gor Khatri, and go to the west, all being south of the Lahori Darwázá road, east of the Kohátí Darwázá clock market-place and Chabútra."

Peshawar city. Description.

Outside, upon the northern face of the city, upon an eminence, is a fort, the Bála Hissár, which dominates every part of the city. Behind it runs the Grand Trunk Road, and beyond this again extends a wide tract of marsh. On the west is a slight depression occupied by the Sadr Bázár of the cantonments, which lie immediately beyond, and some small suburbs thickly surrounded by groves and gardens. On the east and south the ground is much broken, and interspersed with heaps of rubbish, brick-kilns, and grave-yards, the intervening spaces being occupied on the east by cultivated fields, on the south by dense orchards of apple, quince, or peach. The fort above alluded to is quadrilateral in shape, measuring 220 yards on its south, west, and east faces, and 200 yards on its northern face. The walls are of sun-dried brick, and rise to a height of 92 feet above the level of the ground, with a *fausse-braie* of fully 30 feet. It contains extensive and well-constructed magazines and store-houses, and is supplied with water by three wells. There are bastions at each of its corners and upon the southern, western, and eastern face. An armament of guns and mortars is mounted upon the walls. It completely dominates the city, which is almost contiguous to its south-eastern corner.

The population is of an extremely mixed character. The tribes and classes most largely represented are:—Sayads, Moghals, Patháns, Kashmírís, Awáns, other Hindkís, and of Hindús, Bráhmans, Khatris, Aroras. The commercial transactions of the city are mainly engrossed by the Khatris and Aroras, though there are also Muhammadan merchants of position and importance. The mass of the population is subdivided into petty trade-guilds, recruited by miscellaneous tribes of every race to be found in Northern India or in Afghánistán and the neighbouring countries to the north and west.

Cantonments.

The cantonments of Pesháwar are situated two miles westward of the Pesháwar city. Their length is over three miles, and breadth about one mile. The country surrounding them is cultivated, and has gardens and villages in close proximity, except towards the north where there are deep ravines, and the country is intersected by several canals and rivers. The soil is very fertile, and it is irrigated by means of small canal cuts from the Bára river. Formerly water for drinking purposes was obtained from these cuts, but it is now supplied from the Bára water-works, and is conveyed by wrought-iron pipes. The use of this pipe water is limited to cantonments only, and it has not yet been extended to the city. There are about

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Cantonments.

half-a-dozen wells in cantonments which afford excellent drinking water. The cantonments were occupied by British troops soon after the annexation of the Punjab in 1848-49. There are troops of all arms, but the garrison has now been much reduced. There are no old buildings of note in cantonments, except the Residency. It was formerly the garden retreat of Ali Mardán Khán, one of the Duráni chiefs, and is now used as the record-room, and the treasury of the district; and among the modern buildings there are the St. John's Church, double-storeyed barracks, &c. The site of the cantonment, a curved elevation looking towards the Khaibar hills, is one of the best and highest points in the valley, the only objection to it lying in its proximity to the city. To the south-east are barren and stony plains intercepted by occasional water-courses; to the north lies a marshy tract extending in the direction of the Kábul river. The cantonment buildings are arranged in three main blocks; right, centre, and left, forming together an irregular oblong 8 miles and 540 yards in circuit, 3 miles and 925 yards in length from north-west to south-west, and 1 mile 1,650 yards in breadth at its widest point. The right (or eastern) block contains the artillery lines, and barracks for two regiments of Native Infantry, the Commissariat stores, the district Court-house and Treasury, the Jail and Police lines, and other public buildings. The centre block contains lines for a regiment of Native Infantry. It contains also the Church, Roman Catholic Chapel, post office, staging bungalow, and the Cantonment Magistrate's office. The left (or western) block contains lines for a regiment of British Infantry, two companies of Sappers, a regiment of Native Infantry, and one of Native Cavalry. In front of this block are the race-course, grand parade, and burial ground. In the rear are a large cricket ground and public garden. The appearance of the place during the cold and rainy seasons is pleasing and picturesque. The gardens attached to the Officers' bungalows, which line the main roads, are well planted with trees and in most cases are well kept and spruce. Much public energy and good taste also have been displayed in certain improvements recently carried out. Add to this description the fact of a considerable society brought together by the presence of so large a force, and it will be seen that the place combines the principal qualifications for a pleasurable station. The whole, however, is marred by the excessive unhealthiness for which the cantonment is proverbial throughout Northern India, fever of a very bad type being inordinately prevalent at all seasons of the year.

The supply of water has always been attended with difficulty, the main source for many years having been a cut from the Bára river of which the water was extremely polluted. This, however, has been remedied by the supply of pipe-water already alluded to. Other causes of the prevalence of fever are the extensive marshes to the north, over-saturation of the soil in the cantonment, and excessive irrigation of the neighbouring district. Much has been done to remove these causes; the large *jhil* near the fort has been to a great extent drained, and a thick belt of trees planted between it and the Cantonments; the over-irrigation of private compounds has been stopped; the water from the Bára is now brought by *pakka* pipes into

cantonments freed from impurities by percolation through a system of closed tanks partially filled with fine sand; and lastly, the sanitation of the city of Peshâwar has been vastly improved. Moreover, a large proportion of the sickly men now annually withdraw from the valley to the comparatively healthy site of Cherat. The result of these measures is said to have been a very marked decrease in the former insalubrity of the station.

Cantonments.

History.

The old city was some 1½ miles towards the east of the present site, and is said to have been founded by King Parras or Porus. Its early history is sketched in Chapter II (page 32), and the following quotation from General Cunningham gives additional information regarding its archæological interest:—

"The great city now called Peshâwar is first mentioned by Fa-Hian in A.D. 400, under the name of Fo-len-Shah. It is next notice by Sung-Yun in A.D. 502, at which time the king of Gándhára was at war with the king of Kipin or Kophene, that is Kábul and Ghazní and the surrounding districts. Sung-Yun does not name the city, but he calls it the capital, and his description of its great *stupa* of king Kia-ni-ssekia, or Kanishka, is quite sufficient to establish its identity. At the period of Hwen Thsang's visit, in A.D. 630, the royal family had become extinct, and the kingdom of Gándhára was a dependency of Kapisa, or Kábul. But the capital which Hwen Thsang calls Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, or Parasháwara, was still a great city of 40 *li*, or 6⅔ miles, in extent. It is next mentioned by Másudi and Abu Rihan in the 10th and 11th centuries, under the name of Parsháwar, and again by Babar, in the 16th century, it is always called by the same name throughout his commentaries. Its present name we owe to Akbar, whose fondness for innovation led him to change the ancient Parasháwar, of which he did not know the meaning, to Peshâwar, or the "frontier town." Abul Fazl gives both names. The great object of veneration at Parasháwar, in the first centuries of the Christian era, was the begging pot of Budhá, which has already been noticed. Another famous site was the holy *pipal* tree, at 8 or 9 *li*, or 1½ mile, to the south-east of the city. The tree was about 100 feet in height, with wide-spreading branches, which according to the tradition, had formerly given shade to Sakya Budha when he predicted the future appearance of the great king Kanishka. The tree is not noticed by Fa-Hian, but it is mentioned by Sung-Yun as the Pho-thi or Bodhi tree, whose 'branches spread out on all sides, and whose foliage shuts out the sight of the sky.' Beneath it there were four seated statues of the four previous Budhas. Sung-Yun further states that the tree was planted by Kanishka over the spot where he had buried a copper vase containing the pearl tissue lattice of the great *stupa*, which he was afraid might be abstracted from the tope after his death. This same tree would appear to have been seen by the Emperor Bábar, in A.D. 1505, who describes it as the 'stupendous tree' of Begrám, which he 'immediately rode out to see.' It must then have been not less than 1,500 years old, and as it is not mentioned in A.D. 1594 by Abul Fazl in his account of the Gor Khatri at Peshâwar, I conclude that it had previously disappeared through simple old age and decay. The enormous *stupa* of Kanishka, which stood close to the holy tree on its south side, is described by all the pilgrims. In A.D. 500 Fa-Hian says that it was about 400 feet high, 'and adorned with all manner of precious things,' and that fame reported it as superior to all other topes in India. One hundred years later, Sung-Yun declares that 'amongst the topes of western countries this is the first.' Lastly in A.D. 630, Hwen Thsang describes it as upwards of 400 feet in height and 1½ *li*, or just one-quarter of a mile in

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

History.

circumference. It contained a large quantity of the relics of Budhá. No remains of this great *stupa* now exist. To the west of the *stupa* there was an old monastery, also built by Kanishka, which had become celebrated amongst the Buddhists through the fame of Arya-Párswika, Manorhita, and Vasu-bandhu, three of the great leaders and teachers of Buddhism about the beginning of the Christian era. The towers and pavilions of the monastery were two storeys in height, but the building was already much ruined at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. It was, however, inhabited by a small number of monks who professed the 'Lesser Vehicle' or exoteric doctrines of Buddhism. It was still flourishing as a place of Buddhist education in the ninth or tenth century, when Vira Deva of Magadhá was sent to the 'great Vihára of Kanishka, where the best of teachers were to be found, and which was famous for the quietism of its frequenters.' I believe that this great monastery was still existing in the times of Bábar and Akbar under the name of Gor Khatri, or the Baniyá's house. The former says: 'I had heard of the fame of Gor Khatri, which is one of the holy places of the *jogís* of the Hindús, who came from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this Gor Khatri.' Abul Fazl's account is still more brief. Speaking of Peshâwar he says: 'Here is a temple, called Gor Khatri, a place of religious resort, particularly for *jogís*'. According to Erskine, the grand caravansarai of Peshâwar was built on the site of the Gor Khatri."

The present name was given to the city by Akbar, the King of Delhi. The new city was founded by Bagrám, a ruler of the time. He had three brothers—one was the ruler of Jamrúd, the second of Hashtnagar, and the third of Swát. The present city was much enlarged and improved by General Avitabile, the Governor of Peshâwar in the time of the Sikhs. The opening of the Punjab Northern State Railway has added immensely to the commercial importance of Peshâwar. In 1860 the city was threatened by a flood in the Bára river; which caused great loss to public and private buildings in the city; but dams have been constructed outside the Kohát and Edwardes gates at considerable cost to turn the flood water in the outer drain of the city.

Taxation and trade, &c.

The municipality of Peshâwar is a municipality of the second class. The Committee consists of the Deputy Commissioner as President, the Civil Surgeon, the Senior Assistant Commissioner, the Executive Engineer, the District Superintendent of Police, and the Senior Resident Representative of the Educational Department, as *ex-officio* members, and 13 other members. All of the non-official members are nominated by the Deputy Commissioner. The table on the top of the next page shows the income of the municipality for the last few years. It is chiefly derived from octroi levied at a general rate of Rs. 3-2-0 per cent. on the value of almost all goods brought within municipal limits, except grains which are taxed not more than one rupee per cent. There are also taxes on horses, &c., on sales, and mutton and beef.

The trade of the city is fully discussed in Chapter IV (page 153), while Table No. XLVA shows its manufactures as they stood in 1881-82. Much information regarding its industries is contained in Mr. Kipling's note quoted at page 140. Peshâwar is the great commercial market for Central Asia, Afghánistán, Swát, Bajaur, and Teráh, collecting wheat and salt from Kohát, rice and *ghi* from Swát,

Detail.	1869-70	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs.
Octroi duty	46,792	61,802	71,350	96,360	1,00,466	99,867	90,486
Tax on animals	...	...	...	...	...	5,312	3,428
Miscellaneous taxes	...	...	...	...	...		
Rent of lands and buildings ...	...	...	2,044	3,625	13,440	11,888	10,941
Sale of do. do. ...	..	...	...	24	...	...	...
Miscellaneous fees and fines ...	..	...	...	...	...	213	386
Sale of Government securities ...	...	...	...	...	3,169	...	...
Loan	...	...	...	...		...	50,000
Sundry receipts	3,125	2,434	1,875	10,497	3,610	6,716	5,291
Total	48,917	64,236	75,269	1,15,606	1,20,685	1,23,996	1,60,432

Detail.	1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79	1879-80	1880-81.	1881-82	1882-83.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs
Octroi duty	77,614	96,939	1,12,236	1,47,219	1,71,914	1,32,588	1,36,143
Tax on animals	1,674	930	1,271	1,824	2,458	2,424	2,400
Miscellaneous taxes			3,489	2,532	3,372	3,480	3,444
Rent of lands and buildings ...	12,138	11,453	10,812	12,583	15,886	16,154	19,280
Sale of do. do. ...	...	...	...	...	10,912	4,529	3,813
Miscellaneous fees and fines ...	306	466	3,722	4,528	5,508	4,484	4,402
Sale of Government securities ...	...	...	...	...	...	37,432	...
Loan	50,000	...	..	...	..	...	...
Sundry receipts	4,787	4,663	6,124	6,902	12,716	22,304	13,431
Total	1,46,519	1,14,451	1,37,654	1,75,538	2,23,666	2,25,395	1,82,913

oil seeds from Yusafzai, and sugar and oil from the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. It is also the chief *entrepôt* for piece-goods, fancy wares, crockery and cutlery imported from Europe, tea from China and Kángra, and indigo from Multán. These articles find their market in Bokhára, Kábul, and Bajaur. Some of the commercial houses have extensive dealings, and there are many native banking firms of high standing. The chief articles manufactured in the city are *lungís* (Pesháwar scarves), leather goods (shoes, belts, *yakhdáns*, &c.), skull caps (*arkchín*), *kullas* (sugar-loaf-shaped ones), fans, mats, felts, and rough pottery. The trades of working in leather and copper, silver wire making, dyeing, cleaning and winding silk, and the preparation of snuff, are carried on by Kashmíris, Pesháwarís and Kábulís. There are a class of retail-dealers (*khurda farosh*) who make their livelihood by hawking goods brought down from Central Asia. Horse-dealing is carried on by a class known as Jats.

The following goods are imported: from Bokhára, silk, skins (*sinjáb*,* *samúr*, &c.), gold thread (*kalabatún*), *budkís*, *tilás*, and *kanáwaiz*; from Kabul, *pattús*, *postíns*, *chogás*, horses, mules, donkeys, dry and fresh fruits; from Swát, *ghi* and rice; from Bajaur, *ghi*, iron and skins; and from Kohát, wheat and salt. In exchange the following articles are exported:—tea, English piece-goods (*latha*, *khása*, muslins, &c.) to Kábul; besides a great deal of *banát* (broadcloth); and to Swát and Bajaur, salt.

Institutions and public buildings.

The principal institutions of the city are the Egerton Hospital, the Mission School, and the Government Aided School. The remaining buildings and offices are the Commissioner's and Deputy Commissioner's Courts, and District offices, police office formerly called

* Silk cloth of mixed colour.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Institutions and public buildings.

"Phillip's Folly," the railway station, telegraph office, post office, and the staging bungalow which are all in cantonments; within the city there are six police stations, *tahsíl* offices, guest-houses, six branch post offices and the Edwardes gate. In front of the city Kotwáli, there is a clock tower erected at the cost of the Municipality. The public gardens commonly known are the Sháhi Bágh and Wazir Bágh: the former is situated just outside the Kacheri gate towards the north, and the latter outside the Yakatút gate towards the south of the city. The Martin Lecture Hall and Institute is an Institution kept up by the Pesháwar Mission for the benefit of educated natives, and has about one hundred members. It is situated in the centre of the city in the Pípalmandi, and has a Reading-Room, a Library, and a Lecture Hall which are open free to members. Religious and secular lectures are delivered from time to time in the Lecture Hall; and public preaching is sometimes carried on from the steps of the building. The Mission Church and other buildings have already been described in Chapter III.

Population and vital statistics.

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881 is shown below:—

Limits of Enumeration	Year of Census.	Persons.	Males	Females.
Whole town ...	1868	77,477	47,738	29,739
	1881	79,982	50,322	29,660
Municipal limits ...	1868	58,555		
	1875	58,430		
	1881	59,292		

It is difficult to ascertain the precise limits within which the enumerations of 1868 and 1875 were taken; but the details in the margin, which give the population of suburbs, throw some light on the matter. The figures for the population within municipal limits, according to the Census of 1868, are taken from the published tables of the Census of 1875; but it was noted at the time that their accuracy was in many cases doubtful. The Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in the district report on the Census of 1881 regarding the increase of population:—

Town or Suburb.	Population.	
	1868.	1881
Pesháwar city ..	56,589	55,610
Bahná Mari ...	551	1,698
Dherí Baghbánán ...	1,415	1,568
Kákshál, Mandi Kishnganj	...	476
Cantonments	18,922	20,690

"Since the last Census the increase in the population of the city of Pesháwar proper has been 862 souls. Three *mahals* have been included within the municipal limits since the last Census of which the population is 305 souls. If these be deducted, the increase is only 557. Moreover, since the end of the war the population of the city has been increased by the Afghán refugees, their families and servants, and by men returning from service. In spite of this the increase has been far below the average, and the reason for this is the sickness that has prevailed in the city at different times since the last Census. There were severe visitations of cholera in the years 1869, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1877, 1879; and in 1880 also the mortality from general sickness, and especially from fever, has been very great. In the cantonments the increase has been 1,768 souls caused by the presence of the transport staff and employés, the bringing of the railway to Pesháwar, and the

natural increase caused by the breaking up of the war and the return of troops and followers from service."

Since this was written the garrison at cantonments has been reduced by one Regiment Bengal Cavalry, one Regiment Bengal Infantry, and two Batteries of Artillery.

Population and vital statistics.

The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881. The annual birth and death-rates per mile of population since 1868 are given below, the basis of calculation being in every case the figures of the most recent Census :—

Year.	Birth Rates.			Death Rates		
	Persons	Males.	Females	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1868 ...	...	...	...	11	11	10
1869 ...	...	...	...	59	56	58
1870 ...	17	...	...	21	20	22
1871 ...	19	21	18	21	21	21
1872 ...	34	18	16	65	63	68
1873 ...	37	19	18	40	38	43
1874 ...	43	23	20	30	29	31
1875 ...	38	20	18	45	41	50
1876 ...	44	23	21	35	34	36
1877 ...	42	23	19	34	33	35
1878 ...	41	21	20	96	92	101
1879 ...	24	13	11	86	84	87
1880 ...	28	15	13	45	45	45
1881 ...	35	20	15	42	40	45
Average	35	19	17	48	46	49

The actual number of births and deaths registered during the last five years is shown in Table No. XLIV.

Fort Mackeson.

Fort Mackeson is situated 17 miles south of Peshâwar, and 3½ miles from the north entrance of the Kohât Pass. It consists of a pentagon, an inner keep and a horn-work. There is accommodation for 200 Infantry and 300 Cavalry. It was built for the purpose of watching the Kohât Pass, and was called after Colonel Mackeson, the first Commissioner of Peshâwar. The fort has now ceased to be garrisoned by troops, and the question of dismantling it is now before the Government. In the meantime it is used by the Border Police and Frontier Militia. At the Census of 1881 its population was 170 souls, of which 40 were females.

Nowshera town.

Nowshera is a cantonment on the right bank of the Kâbul river in 34° 0' north latitude, and 72° 1' east longitude. There is a Church and Protestant Chaplain, also a Roman Catholic Chaplain. There is a station of the Punjab Northern State Railway, 27 miles from Peshâwar. It is the head-quarters of a *tahsîl*, and there is a police station of the 1st class, a dâk bungalow, post office and telegraph office. There are two villages of Nowshera, the larger one being on the left bank of the river. The Grand Trunk Road runs through the station, and the Kâbul river is crossed by a bridge of boats, which is kept up all the year. The fort of Mardân is 15 miles distant, connected by an unmetalled road. The cantonment contains lines for a British Regiment, a Regiment of Native Cavalry, and a Regiment of Native Infantry. It lies about 1½ miles to the

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities, and Cantonments.

east of the small village of Nowshera Khurd, in a small sandy plain some three miles in width, surrounded on three sides by low hills, and open upon the north towards the Kábul. The surface towards the south-east and west is much cut up by impracticable ravines. There are a few trees near the Kábul on the north side of the cantonment, but the remainder of the plain is barren and uncultivated. The cantonment (*sadr*) *bázár* lies to the west of the station; the police station and *tahsíl* are three miles from the cantonment, and here also are a *sarai* and the post and telegraph offices. Opposite the north-west corner is a bridge of boats over the Kábul. About 1½ miles along the Pesháwar road, close to the village of Nowshera Khurd, is an old masonry fort now in ruins. Close to cantonments is a staging bungalow near the bridge of boats. The drainage of the station is efficiently performed by natural ravines. Water of a good quality is plentifully found in wells, at a depth about 37 feet. The river water is also very good and wholesome. Intermittent fever is prevalent among the population of the neighbourhood. The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Nowshera town.

Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females
1868	10,870	7,123	3,747
1881	13,963	8,224	4,739

The details in the margin give the population of suburbs. The Deputy Commissioner in the district report on the Census of 1881 attributed the increase of population to the advent of the railway and the healthiness of the situation. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population.	
	1868.	1881.
Nowshera town ..	6,083	7,830
Kandar, Kenderi ...		260
Cantonments ..	4,787	5,473

Shabkadar town.

Fort Shankargarh or Fort Shabkadar is situated 18 miles north-east of Pesháwar. It was originally built by the Sikhs, and is three miles distant from the hills of the Halimzai Mohmands. The armament of the fort consists of one 18-pounder, one 12-pounder, and a 12-lb Howitzer; it is garrisoned by 95 Infantry and 39 Cavalry. A field officer is in command, and there is a doctor who also affords medical aid to the garrisons of the two other Doába forts at Michni and Abazai. In form the fort is an octagon, with sides of 180 feet and circular bastions at all the corners. The walls are 25 feet high. The fort is connected with Pesháwar by a good military road, which crosses all three branches of the Kábul river. In the winter there are floating bridges over these, in the summer ferries only, and the road is often flooded. This is the centre of the Doába forts, Michni and Abazai being situated east and west. The village of Shabkadar is a common native hamlet two miles from the fort. Around the fort a town has now sprung up and is a local centre of trade. It has a Municipality, and at it are situated a dispensary and a police

station. It lies in the open country, but little more than a mile from the commencement of the stony tract by which the hills are fringed. The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875 and 1881 is shown below :—

Shabkadar town.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females
Whole town ...	1868	947	542	405
	1881	1,367	879	488
Municipal limits ...	1868	947	...	...
	1875	1,017	...	...
	1881	1 367	...	...

Town or Suburb.	Population.	
	1868	1881
Shankargarh town .	947	1,133
Fort Shabkadar ...		234

The details in the margin give the population of suburbs. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Fort Michni.

Fort Michni is situated 15 miles north of Peshâwar on the left bank of the Kâbul river, three miles below the point where the river issues from the mountains of the Tarakzai Mohmands. It is a pentagon with accommodation for 50 Cavalry and 100 Infantry, and was erected in 1851 to keep the Mohmands in check. The fort commands a ferry over the Kâbul river, and is connected with Peshâwar by a good military road. Lieutenant A. Boulnois, R.E., was killed here in January 1852, and Major McDonald, the commandant of the fort, was killed on 21st March 1873. Fort Michni is one of the three Doâba forts, and is commanded by a field officer who is under the command of the Brigadier-General at Peshâwar. The present garrison consists of 39 non-commissioned officers and men of the Bengal Cavalry, and 95 non-commissioned officers and men of the Native Infantry. At the Census of 1881 it contained 205 males and 3 females.

Tangi town.

Tangi is a town in the Hashtnagar division of the Peshâwar district, 29 miles north of Peshâwar. It is divided into two *kandis* or divisions, called Bârazai and Nasratzai. There is a police station of the first class. The Swât river runs under the town to the west, and the Swât river canal is about three miles distant, where the famous Jhindâ aqueduct is situated. The inhabitants belong to the great Pathân clan of Muhammadzâi. There are no buildings of any size, and the town itself is a collection of native houses. Faction is rife, and the place owes its importance to its being in the neighbourhood of the independent tribe of Utmânkhels against whom it has always held its own. The population, as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881, is shown in the margin.

Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1868	12 554	6,672	5,882
1881	9,037	4,915	4,122

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities, and Cantonments.

Tangi town.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise limits within which the enumeration of 1868 was taken; but the details in the margin, which give the population of suburbs, throw some light on the matter. It would appear from information supplied by the Deputy Commissioner that several *bandas* or hamlets have been built, and other old ones included within the limits of the town since 1868. The same officer "attributes the "increase of population partly to the canal works in the neighbour-"hood." But the figures show a very large decrease. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population	
	1868.	1881.
Tangi Nasratzai	7,614	3,962
Kanyúr and small suburbs		887
Tangi Barazai	4,913	3,707
Bánda-Khatkali, Kot, Chalár ...		481

Maira Práng town.

Paráng or Maira Práng is situated in the Hashtanagar division of the Pesháwar district, above the junction of the Swát and Kábul rivers, and is 14 miles north-east of Pesháwar. The inhabitants are Muhammadzai Patháns; there is a ferry, and to the north the town of Chársadda is but half a mile distant. The town is not fortified. The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females
1868	7,214	3,933	3,381
1881	8,874	4,675	4,199

The details in the margin give the population of suburbs. It would appear from information supplied by the Deputy Commissioner that the increase in population is owing, at least in part, to the inclusion in 1881 of hamlets which were excluded in 1868. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population.	
	1868.	1881.
Maira Práng town	7,314	8,261
Palosá and small *bandas*		613

Chársadda town.

Chársadda is the head-quarters of the *tahsíl* of Hashtnagar, and is situated on the left bank of the Swát river. There is a first class police station, and a dispensary is in course of construction. The town is 16 miles north-east of Pesháwar, and is connected by a good road, but there are three branches of the Kábul river and two of the Swát to be crossed: there are ferries at all these. It was here that Ahsán Ali Sháh, *tahsildár*, on 20th April, 1852, was attacked and killed by a party of 400 men under the famous Ajún Khán. The town is not fortified, and consists mostly of ordinary village houses: there are a number of fine palm trees about. The road to Mardán goes direct west, and there is another to the north connecting this town with the other large places in Hashtnagar. To the south a road has been made to the Nowshera railway

station. Chársadda is a large and prosperous village, having an industrious agricultural population and several enterprising Hindú traders: close to it lies the large village of Práng. The populati on as ascertained at the enumeration of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Chársadda town.

Year of Census.	Persons	Males	Females.
1868	8,233	4,516	3,717
1881	8,363	4,581	3,782

The details in the margin give the population of suburbs. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population, 1881.
Chársadda town ..	6,057
Garhi Hamíd Khan	649
Kazíkhel Jadíd	540
Gidar, Kazíkhel, Khanna; Kutkani, other small suburbs	1,117

Utmánzai town.

Utmánzai is situated on the left bank of the Kábul river in the Hashtnagar *tahsíl* of the Pesháwar district. The people are Muhammadzai Patháns. The place is unwalled, and there is a school under the management of the Church Mission Society. There is a ferry over the Swát river. Pesháwar is 18 miles distant, and there is a straight road to Mardán, which is 16 miles off.

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Year of Census	Persons.	Males	Females.
1868	4,255	2,311	1,944
1881	4,823	2,588	2,235

The datails in the margin give the population of suburbs. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population, 1881.
Utmanzai	4,566
Aspan Dheri and other small suburbs	257

Fort Abázai.

Abázai is situated 24 miles north of Pesháwar, on the left bank of the Swát river, and two miles from where the river issues from the hills. The head-works of the Swát river canal are above the fort. It is in the form of a star with six bastions and a square keep in the centre. The fort is commanded by an officer of the Guides Corps, and is garrisoned by a detachment of that regiment. The canal officer in charge of the head-works has a bungalow in the fort. It was built in 1852 to keep the Utmánkhels and eastern Mullágorís in check. There is a ferry over the Swát river below the fort, and a good military road to Shabkadar, which is situated eight miles distant. At the Census of 1881 the population consisted of 220, of whom 7 were females.

Hoti Mardán.

Mardán is situated in Yusafzai, and is garrisoned by the Guides Corps. An Assistant Commissioner also resides there in charge of the Yusafzai sub-division, of which Mardán is the head-quarters. It is 33 miles north-east of Pesháwar. The fort is a pentagon; the sepoys' lines are all round the fort inside, and the officers' quarters are at the angles. The head-quarters of the

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities, and Cantonments

Mardán *tahsíl* are here. The cavalry of the Guides Corps live in a horn-work outside the fort. The fort was built by Hodson in 1854. The station derives its name from the two villages of Mardán and Hoti, which occupy the banks of the Kalpáni immediately below the cantonment. It contains the lines of the Corps of Guides, whose head-quarters are permanently fixed at this place.

Hoti Mardán.

The Sessions house, which was built in 1870 and in which lives the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the sub-division, lies a short distance to the south on the road to Nowshera; there are also a court-house, the *tahsíl* offices, a post and telegraph office, a dispensary, and a police station of the first class. Not far from the Sessions house are the house and workshops of the Executive Engineer in charge of the Swát River Canal. At this part of its course the ravine of the Kalpáni is very abrupt; and the stream has a tendency to encroach upon the cantonment. Good water is obtainable in wells of about 40 feet in depth. The mean monthly temperature recorded at Mardán in the years 1864—70 is thus given by Colonel McGregor in a statement furnished by Dr. Courtenay:

Mean monthly temperature at Mardán, 1864—70.

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Annual Mean
1864	48	53	58	65	74	82	92	86	85	70	55	45	67·7
1865	49	48	50	67	81	89	85	81	79	70	52	45	66·3
1866	43	48	50	60	81	96	91	87	80	70	56	49	67·6
1867	50	56	65	66	80	91	91	88	85	71	57	46	70·5
1868	50	53	57	65	82	95	93	93	84	68	52	47	69·9
1869	49	53	59	71	88	92	93	89	85	68	55	46	70·6
1870	50	59	61	73	88	91	87	84	77	71	51	42	69·5
Mean of the 7 years, 1864 to 1870 ...	48	53	57	69	82	91	90	87	82	70	54	46	68·9

Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1868	1,964	1,824	140
1881	2,766	2,214	552

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

The details in the margin give the population of suburbs. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town or Suburb.	Population, 1881
Mardán Cantonments	2,323
Civil Lines	443

Cherát.

Cherát is a sanitarium on the west of the Khattak range which divides the districts of Pesháwar and Kohát, 30 miles south-east of Pesháwar and 25 miles south-south-west of Nowshera. It was not classed as a town at the recent Census, the population being below 5,000 souls. The site was first brought to notice

Cherát.

in 1853 by Major Coke, who discovered it while exploring the Núr Kalán route to Kohát. Several proposals for its occupation were subsequently made, but fell through principally on account of political entanglements expected to arise with the Afridí tribes of the neighbourhood. At length in 1861 sanction was obtained for the formation of a temporary camp during the autumn months. The experiment being found to succeed, has been repeated annually up to the present time, with marked benefit to the health of the troops. The place is to be declared a cantonment and barracks to be built shortly. The height of the hill is about 4,500 feet above sea level, and a temperature is obtained even during the hottest months which affords a sensible relief from the hot winds and miasma of the plains. The following statement embodies the results of certain thermometrical observations taken at Cherát in 1872 :—

Temperature in the upper tents, Cherát, May to October 1872.

	Max.	Min.	Max.	Min.
Week ending 24th May 1872.	73·4	65·5	68·8	64·7
Ditto 31st „ „	80·1	66·8	71·5	64·0
Ditto 14th June „	97·2	84·0	93·1	85 8
Ditto 21st „ „	89 7	76 1	87·0	78·8
Ditto 5th July „	79 2	71·5	80·2	75·0
Ditto 12th „ „	73·8	71·0	82·5	73·5
Ditto 19th „ „	79·2	70 7	78·5	73·1
Ditto 26th „ „	81·7	71·2	80·4	74·7
Ditto 2nd August „	75·2	70·0	77·2	74·8
Ditto 16th „ „	82·2	70·8	77·4	74·1
Ditto 23rd „ „	83·8	71·4	81·0	75·2
Ditto 30th „ „	85·1	71·4	81·8	74·0
Ditto 6th Sep. „	82·8	70·4	78·2	73·8
Ditto 13th „ „	81·4	71·0	77·1	71·8
Ditto 27th „ „	76·2	62·5	70·7	65·5
Ditto 4th Oct. „	80·5	69·0	77·4	71·4

The water-supply is derived from a perennial spring at Sapari, nearly three miles distant, which is estimated to supply 20,000 gallons per day at the driest part of the year.